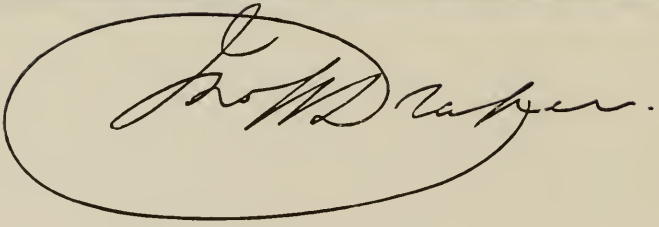

JOHN WILLIAM DRAPER

LIFE OF FRANKLIN

EDITED BY RONALD S. WILKINSON
MANUSCRIPT DIVISION

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS WASHINGTON 1977

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Draper, John William, 1811–1882.
Life of Franklin.

Includes bibliographical references.
1. Franklin, Benjamin, 1706–1790. 2. Statesmen—United States—Biography.
I. Wilkinson, Ronald S. II. Title
E302.6.F8D66 1977 973.3'092'4 [B] 76–608328
ISBN 0-8444-0221-4

FRONTISPIECE: Photograph of John William Draper by Edward Bierstadt, New York, about 1879.

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 20402

Stock No. 030-000-00088-9

FOREWORD

In 1973 the Library of Congress received the first group of the papers of John William Draper (1811–1882). Donated by his great-grandson, Daniel C. Draper, the papers had been in Draper family hands for nearly a century, descending through John W. Draper's son Daniel to his granddaughter, Dorothy C. Draper Nye, who bequeathed them to her nephew, Daniel C. Draper. Included among the papers was the manuscript of a previously unknown brief biography of Benjamin Franklin, in the form of a handwritten, unrevised intermediate draft. It is here published for the first time.

The discovery and publication are timely. Draper prepared his life of Franklin as our first century of national life drew to a close. Its publication, a century after its composition and two centuries after the life of its subject, testifies to the enduring interest of the intellectual and political initiatives of the American past.

The biography has been edited, and an editorial and historical introduction supplied, by Ronald S. Wilkinson, a specialist in the Library's Manuscript Division with responsibilities for the history of American science and original sources for its study.

John C. Broderick
Chief, Manuscript Division

INTRODUCTION

John William Draper, author of this biography of Benjamin Franklin, was a man of many parts. To the student of history, Draper is known for two of the more important contributions to nineteenth-century American historical scholarship, *A History of the Intellectual Development of Europe* (1863) and *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science* (1874), as well as a three-volume *History of the American Civil War* (1867–70), a work of original research which received merited praise in its time. To the historian of science he is of equal prominence; indeed, his biographer, Donald H. Fleming, has characterized him as "easily one of the dozen most important contributors to basic science in the United States before 1870." [1]

The main facts of Draper's life are well known, and only a brief summary is necessary here; the opening of his papers will provide a useful source of further detail for future scholars but will probably not necessitate a major reappraisal of his work. Draper was the son of a Methodist clergyman, a former Roman Catholic who, upon being converted to Wesley's doctrines, assumed the name of John Christopher Draper. His son John William was born in the borough of St. Helens, near Liverpool, in England. Kept from taking an Oxford or Cambridge degree because of his religious views, he attended the recently founded University of London, receiving a certificate of honors in chemistry in 1831.[2] After the death of his father he emigrated with his family and young wife Antonia to the United States, settling in Virginia. Draper received his M.D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1836 and, having been interested in science since childhood, settled into a life of teaching and research, first taking the chair of chemistry and natural philosophy at Hampden-Sydney College in Virginia. From 1839 until his death he held various positions in New York University, from professor of chemistry to president of the medical school.

Draper's reputation in science largely rests on his research in radiant energy and its effects. His first widely acclaimed work in this field was his varied improvement upon Daguerre's methods of photography. Draper was long credited with taking the first successful

photograph of the human face, but recent authors have given the priority to Alexander Wolcott. Evidence in Draper's papers now indicates that Draper, Samuel F. B. Morse, and Wolcott were all apparently taking portraits at the same time in the fall of 1839, and the relative merit of their "success" is conjectural, as so few photographs of the period have survived.[3] His contributions to photography were, however, more extensive than this; for example, drawing on his training in chemistry, he was soon able to sensitize and develop plates which required a much shorter exposure than Daguerre's.

In the winter of 1839–40 Draper obtained the first photographs of the moon, thus initiating astrophotography, and his experiments in that field continued over a period of some years. The Draper papers have, for example, revealed a series of letters written in 1862 by Draper and son Daniel to son Henry—later to become an astronomer of considerable note—chronicling attempts at celestial photography in the Draper observatory at Hastings-on-Hudson, New York, transmitting paper proofs of photographs of the moon, and describing their work on Mars and Venus, accomplished with a telescope utilizing automatic drive and a camera.[4]

Draper and his son Henry were also among the first to attempt microphotography, but Donald Fleming has quite correctly suggested that these technological applications were incidental to his work on other effects of radiant energy, including his discovery in 1841 of "Draper's law," that only absorbed rays produce chemical change (this was later found to have been independently anticipated in 1817 by C. J. D. Grotthuss). Also important were the "tithonometer," his instrument for measuring light intensity; his discoveries about incandescent solids and the continuous spectra they emit; and his other work on the diffraction spectrum, of which he appears to have taken the first photograph. These contributions, for which Draper was awarded the Rumford Medal by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1875, are discussed in greater detail by Fleming. Beginning with work conducted with his father, Draper's son Henry became a pioneer in the study of stellar spectra, and son Daniel pursued an innovative career in meteorology, inventing a series of self-recording instruments while directing the New York Meteorological Observatory on Central Park.

John William Draper's scientific work was both varied and voluminous, ranging from his first important book, *A Treatise on the Forces Which Produce the Organization of Plants* (1844), to a work which was extremely influential in its time, *Human Physiology, Statical and Dynamical* (1856, containing the first published illustrations from photographs taken through the microscope). His very

popular elementary *Text-Book on Chemistry* (1846) went through numerous editions. Other research resulted in an improvement on his friend S. F. B. Morse's telegraph: Draper demonstrated by a series of experiments that long-range telegraphy was possible.

Draper's scientific experience led quite naturally into his contributions as an historian. He accepted Auguste Comte's concept of stages of historical development, and from this developed a quite independent cyclical theory of history which Fleming has summarized succinctly: "the history of mankind had consisted in a succession of dominant nations or cultures, regarded as biological organisms experiencing decrepitude and death as well as birth and development." [5] In his historical volumes, Draper stressed the impact of such environmental factors as geography and climate on the development of nations. His first and still his most important historical work, *A History of the Intellectual Development of Europe,* was apparently begun in 1856 and completed in 1858, although, because of a series of delays, it was not printed until five years later. In the interim, when Charles Darwin published *The Origin of Species* (1859), Draper saw his own views as consistent with that work. He prepared a paper, originally titled "On the Possibility of Determining the Law of the Intellectual Development of Europe," to be read at the Oxford meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1860. Although the views in his address were certainly not initially influenced by Darwin, he amended the title to "On the Intellectual Development of Europe (Considered with Reference to the Views of Mr. Darwin and Others) That the Progression of Organisms Is Determined by Law." Draper's session at Oxford furnished the occasion for one of the high points of the early debate over Darwinism, the celebrated exchange between Bishop Wilberforce and T. H. Huxley. Manuscripts of several stages of the Oxford paper and an interesting series of letters tracing Draper's trip to Oxford and the famous confrontation are among his papers.

Draper's book on the intellectual development of Europe, which was an unqualified success, was translated into a number of languages and ran into many editions. It was followed by *Thoughts on the Future Civil Policy of America* (1865) and the multivolume history of the Civil War. Numerous letters in Draper's papers trace his meticulous research for the latter work, including an extensive exchange with Gen. William T. Sherman, who not only furnished much information but assisted in editing the work. Draper's last major historical contribution, and probably his most popular, considering its numerous editions and translations, was his *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science* (1874), which chronicled what he saw as the oppression of science by organized religion.

Many of Draper's ideas about this "conflict" have been modified or proven erroneous in the century since the writing of his book, but it remained the standard work on the subject until Andrew D. White published his equally polemic *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom* (1896). Draper's reputation among his contemporary historians is exemplified in a series of letters remaining in his papers from the eminent George Bancroft, who wrote in 1865 that he had purchased a copy of *Thoughts on the Future Civil Policy of America* and "immediately read every word of it. . . . It is my hope that you will lead our countrymen to the better exercise of reflective judgment, & the clearer perception of the universality of law. They might also find themselves stimulated to the study of your great works on Physiology & the intellectual development of Europe." Reading the first volume of the work on the Civil War (1867), Bancroft reported that "I expected a great deal from you: you have gone beyond my expectations & taken me by storm. . . . Your volume is the most striking in point of philosophy & manner, the analysis of causes, the vivid description of causes in action, that has yet appeared in American history." And upon receiving that "wonderful book," Draper's *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science,* Bancroft wrote that the volume "took from me half my night. . . . No man in America could have come near what you have accomplished." [6]

It is appropriate that a man such as Draper, eminent in a number of endeavors including that of scientist, should have turned his attention to an American predecessor of the previous century who displayed even greater versatility and scientific achievement, Benjamin Franklin. The unfinished manuscript left in Draper's papers at his death was obviously designed to be a popular biography of Franklin, and an 1872 letter in the Draper correspondence gives some hint as to its origin. In it, an unidentified representative of the publisher D. Appleton & Co. states in reply to a query by Draper that "we have no intentions of giving up the series, Lives of Eminent Americans, & are very much pleased to find that you will undertake the volume on Franklin." The firm preferred to offer Draper a lump sum for the copyright rather than to pay him royalties, so that it would "be able to place the book in any form or at any price desired." [7] Lack

of further documentation of the "Life of Franklin" in the surviving archives of the publisher creates a mystery as to why the Draper manuscript did not eventually appear in the "Eminent Americans" series.[8] Draper's project—for he seems to have initiated the idea —may well have been set aside temporarily for the writing of the *Conflict,* which was ready for the same publisher a little over two years later; Appleton's delivered the first set of proofs of the latter work to Draper in September 1874.

At any rate, presumably after the end of 1874, work was begun on the Franklin manuscript. The composition of various papers and lectures, as well as the writing of Draper's last published book, *Scientific Memoirs, Being Experimental Contributions to a Knowledge of Radiant Energy* (1878), might have intervened, but it is possible that at least part of the surviving form of the Franklin book was completed before October 1879, for during that month Draper submitted a brief popular article titled "Franklin's Place in the Scientific Movement of the Eighteenth Century" to *Harper's Magazine.*[9] It was printed in the following year with a slightly altered title.[10] "Franklin's Place" contains a number of paragraphs which are identical to or only slightly different from paragraphs in the fourth chapter of the "Life of Franklin," and several modifications at least suggest that the latter may have been written before the article.[11]

Whatever the relation between the book and the article, it is certain that Draper meant to revise the surviving manuscript of the "Life of Franklin." It is by no means ready for the printer and is written as a running draft, largely without punctuation and without regularization of capitalization, in a hand quite probably meant for Draper's eyes alone. Some words are nearly undecipherable; considerable study of various samples of the author's handwriting was necessary to establish the text published in this volume. Flaps of paper are pasted to the margins of a number of leaves of the manuscript; these contain passages, references, and notes to be used in further revision, and some such notes, very laconic in nature, are inserted between lines of the manuscript in pencil.

It is unlikely that Draper consulted any original manuscripts when writing the "Life of Franklin." As the draft indicates again and again, his chief source was the ten-volume edition of Franklin's writings prepared by Jared Sparks, *The Works of Benjamin Franklin* (1836–40). Sparks' edition included the well-known autobiography, with a continuation written by the editor and an extensive selection of Franklin's publications and correspondence, as well as other relevant documents. Sparks' habit of modifying and improving on the language and punctuation of the works he edited is well

known,[12] so that Draper's main source was not necessarily an entirely accurate one, but Draper was by no means the only writer on Franklin to depend upon the long-standard edition by Sparks. Among other sources used by Draper was James Parton's lengthy *Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin* (1864), the most extensive biography of the period, and the manuscript reveals that he had access to a number of other published works. The biographical details of Franklin's life were excerpted and condensed from all these sources, and relevant quotations, chiefly from the Sparks edition, were inserted when desirable. However, not all of the text is taken from the work of others; much of the commentary is Draper's, and some of it reflects the ideas put forth in his earlier works.

Draper's "Life of Franklin" provides no information that is new to twentieth-century historians, and because of the sources he used in its preparation, the book does not meet the more rigorous standards of current scholarship. However, there are several reasons which make its present publication desirable. The discovery of an unknown biography by one of America's leading historians would be sufficient justification. But the book is also of historiographical interest because Draper, with a scientist's appreciation of the importance of Franklin's own scientific work, gave as much space to those activities as he could within the framework of his design. One-fifth of the manuscript deals with Franklin as a scientist, and Draper implies that he would have written more about the subject if space allowed. In an age when Franklin was viewed as a printer, public servant, and patriot who somehow found time to draw sparks from thunderclouds—a stereotype still held by many persons who are unaware of the true nature of his fundamental contributions to physics—such a proportion was an innovation in contemporary popular biography. Of course, eighteenth-century writers, especially in Europe, were well aware of those scientific contributions which gave Franklin an international reputation and aided his effectiveness as a diplomat. Yet, despite the fact that Draper was more eager than most to give ample attention to Franklin's place in the history of science, he felt that this activity was subordinate to his contribution as a public figure. Draper's article on Franklin in *Harper's* states what was probably his final view on the subject:

> I intended in these pages to limit my remarks to Franklin's scientific position, but that would be to represent very inadequately the whole life of this great man. Let us remember that his electrical researches, on which his scientific celebrity must mainly depend, occupied at the most only seven or eight years, and then were abandoned because of the pressure of political affairs. Not by his scientific life, but by his political, will Franklin be judged of by his countrymen. In that his true grandeur is seen. He conducted the foreign affairs that gave independence to America. No other American could have stood in his place,

and have done what he did. Very true, his scientific reputation gave him position before the eyes of the French court, and added force to his urgent entreaties for money and an army and a fleet to aid his struggling countrymen. No one can rise from a perusal of his political writings, from the time of the Albany Commission to the close of his eventful life, without recognizing his great intellectual ability, his political foresight. To meet the trained statesmen of England, to conduct successfully to a close negotiations which were the most important in which they could engage, since the partition, the disruption, of the British Empire was involved, demanded a clear head, a piercing eye, and a calm judgment. The result he accomplished was of far more importance to mankind than any philosophical experiment he ever made—a vast continent dedicated to human freedom. Contemplated from this point of view, Franklin appears as one of the greatest men of his generation. His electrical discoveries, brilliant as they were, were only embellishments of his life.[13]

Some historians of science may well hesitate at a few of these sentences, but to most investigators of a wider scope, Draper's assessment would be considered a sensible, well-balanced evaluation of Franklin's contributions, as valid today as when it was written almost a century ago.

A brief explanation is necessary of the editorial methods used in preparing the "Life of Franklin" for publication. An attempt has been made to follow Draper's text as closely as possible, but as it survives only as an intermediate draft, lacking punctuation, proper capitalization, and a number of transitions, these have been supplied to make the biography readable.[14] To reduce the number of footnotes which would otherwise have been required, capitalization and punctuation have been regularized, without comment, according to the practice of the nineteenth century. When it has been necessary to insert words or phrases for transitional or other stylistic purposes, and when repeated words have been deleted and obvious misspellings corrected, such amendments have been indicated by notes. Draper's own emendations to the text have been similarly noted, as have the flaps of paper which he pasted to the margins of many of the pages for further revision. The beginning of each page of the manuscript is indicated by the placement of its number, enclosed in brackets, at the appropriate point in the printed text, and the contents of Draper's revisionary flaps appear in notes to these numbers, according to the manuscript pages on which they are mounted.

Draper did not supply footnotes to identify the sources of the many quotations in the book, but almost all of these have been traced and are identified in editorial notes. Passages within quotation marks are punctuated and capitalized according to Draper's probable sources. However, at times Draper amended his quotations, deleting or changing words or phrases to fit the context of his narrative, and at some points he condensed or paraphrased materials within quotation marks. In such cases, Draper's actual text is printed rather than that of the source. Although some indication of the nature of Draper's deviation from the material quoted is normally given in the notes, in many cases it would have been unwieldy to print all the precise differences. Those who are concerned with this interesting aspect of Draper's historical method (for the manuscript exposes a major nineteenth-century historian *en pantoufles,* amending the exact wording—though not the meaning—of his sources) can consult the sources themselves. Of course, the problem is compounded because of Sparks' inaccurate transcriptions of Franklin's papers, which are not corrected, because they would not have been changed in the final version of Draper's book. For the purposes of this edition, errors of fact or deviation from the actual manuscript sources have not been corrected,[15] although revised dates of several important letters have been supplied in the notes. Completion of the modern edition of Franklin's works, initiated by Leonard W. Labaree and Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., and now being continued by William B. Willcox, will eventually rectify Sparks' errors and emendations, except in cases where the editors have had to depend on Sparks' data for Franklin manuscripts which have been subsequently lost.

It is possible that further research in Draper's voluminous papers (now being organized by the Manuscript Division) and other sources will provide additional clues to the problems surrounding the "Life of Franklin." Meanwhile, this edition of John William Draper's brief biography provides the text of a fellow scientist's tribute to one of the most significant figures of the Enlightenment, Benjamin Franklin.

Ronald S. Wilkinson

NOTES

1. Donald H. Fleming, "John William Draper," *Dictionary of Scientific Biography,* vol. 4 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), pp. 181–83, a brief but comprehensive summary Draper's scientific work. Fleming's full-length biography is titled *John William Draper and the Religion of Science* (Philadelphia: Univer-

sity of Pennsylvania Press, 1950). These are supplemented by two contributions concerning the Draper Papers and materials in them suggesting the desirability of further research: [Ronald S. Wilkinson], "John William Draper Family Papers" in "Recent Acquisitions of the Manuscript Division," *Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress* 31 (October 1974): 255–59, and [Oliver H. Orr and Ronald S. Wilkinson], "John William Draper Family Papers," in "Recent Acquisitions of the Manuscript Division," *Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress* 32 (July 1975): 178–85.

2. The University of London had not yet broken the monopoly given by Parliament to Oxford and Cambridge for granting degrees.

3. [Wilkinson], "Draper Family Papers," p. 256.

4. [Orr and Wilkinson], "Draper Family Papers," p. 183.

5. Fleming, "John William Draper," p. 183.

6. George Bancroft to John W. Draper, October 1, 1865; June 25, 1867; December 4, 1874; John William Draper Family Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

7. D. Appleton & Co. to John W. Draper, April 22, 1872, Draper Family Papers.

8. Pearl Paratore, Prentice-Hall, Inc., to John C. Broderick, April 21, 1975, Manuscript Division.

9. John W. Draper to H. M. Alden, October 13, 1879, Draper Family Papers. Alden's reply, accepting the article for *Harper's,* is dated October 15. Both it and the final manuscript (returned by the printer) are in the Draper Family Papers.

10. John W. Draper, "Franklin's Place in the Science of the Last Century," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 61 (July 1880): 265–75.

11. Among these are the fact that the MS of the book identifies the person who first demonstrated electrical experiments to Franklin as "Dr. Spence"; see chap. 4, n. 14 below for the problem. The name reads "Spence" in Draper's manuscript for the *Harper's* article, but in the printed version the name appears as *Spencer.* As noted below, it is now generally supposed that Franklin's "Spence" was Dr. Adam Spencer, and as Draper presumably read the *Harper's* proofs, it is possible to theorize that further research after submission of the article MS led him to alter the name. If this is so, since the name was not subsequently corrected from "Spence" in the "Life of Franklin" manuscript, it could be that Draper had abandoned the latter project by 1879, using part of it in the *Harper's* article. This, of course, is conjecture.

12. A brief account of Sparks' attitude toward his work is given by Harvey Wish, *The American Historian* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 46–51. Examples of Sparks' editorial practices in his edition of Franklin's works are given in the current edition of Franklin's papers; see, for example, Benjamin Franklin, *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin,* ed. Leonard W. Labaree et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959–), 7: 231n, 379n.

13. Draper, "Franklin's Place," p. 275.

14. The manuscript, largely in ink but with some pencil emendations, is written on one side of each of 112 leaves of lined paper, 8¼ by 5¼ inches in size. The title leaf, "Life of Franklin," is followed by 4 unnumbered leaves containing a table of contents in the nineteenth-century style, which refers subjects to pages in the manuscript. It is not printed here. The text is on 108 numbered leaves. Chapter divisions are present in the manuscript, but they are not numbered there. Revisional notes are pasted to some of the leaves, as explained below.

15. Some slips of Draper's pen have been corrected and noted, e.g., in chap. 8, n. 16, when Draper writes the year of Franklin's departure as minister to France as 1766 instead of 1776, on the supposition that such obvious lapses would have been corrected by Draper or his editor.

Allegorical print designed by Honoré Fragonard and engraved by Marguerite Gerard, 1778. Fragonard admired Franklin and prepared the plate in anticipation of a visit by the American to his studio. When Franklin arrived Fragonard made the first print of the engraving and presented it to him. From the Benjamin Franklin Collection, Yale University Library.

LIFE OF FRANKLIN

I

"I go a fishing." Such was the report, with a double meaning, of a pious French Franciscan setting out on a transatlantic voyage to the banks of Newfoundland. This was less than a century after the discovery of America by Columbus.[1]

As the two fishermen who were mending [2] their nets by the Sea of Galilee heard a voice calling to them and saying "leave your nets and I will make you fishers of men," so in the ears of the brown-cafoted brethren who had reached the mouth of the St. Lawrence, the same command of the same voice was perpetually sounding.[3]

The codfish, annually migrating from [4] the polar seas, swarms in incredible numbers on the Banks of Newfoundland. It seeks those shoals partly for the abundant food they furnish, and partly to avoid the hot waters of the Gulf Stream, a current it dares not cross. Its flesh, salted or dried, enables the religious of a large portion of Europe to comply with the requirements of the church, when on days of fasting, it is necessary to abstain from animal food. So important had the catching of this fish become, that in the early days of American colonization, the profits arising from it were considered more valuable than the gold carried away from the West-Indian islands.

But these islands were crowded with a dense [2] population. On the mainland, in Mexico, the Spaniards accused themselves of the awful crime of having murdered in the mines, by the lash, and other unspeakable atrocities of slavery, fifteen millions of these unoffending Indians, and still a great [5] population remained.

Such facts as these had spread all over Europe an impression that the North American continent, in its vast extent, presented an equivalent population, and this seemed to be substantiated by the state of things discovered by Pizarro in Peru.[6] There, social masses enormous in number,[7] and of high civilization, were found. The acts of the Spaniard in Mexico and Peru present the most awful crime in the annals of the human race. Nor must the participation of all

Europe in this be overlooked. She has never denounced these enormous atrocities, never separated herself from their perpetrators, never protested against them. The Franciscans,[8] sharing in this misconception, and not[9] doubting that a glorious triumph for Christianity was before them, resigned not without joy the spiritual welfare of the codfishing mariners of the Banks to their successors, and prepared for the work before them.

At that time Samuel de Champlain,[10] the first governor of Canada,[11] whose name is still impressed on a beautiful American lake, had entered warmly into the Franciscan views, seeking the conversion of the aboriginal Indians. The results obtained did not give satisfaction to the French Catholic authorities, who came to the conclusion that the affair would be more successful if committed to the Jesuits. No one seems to have realized the [3] sparseness of the native population. On the verge of the Atlantic, for reasons that readily suggest themselves, it was more dense than in the interior, and this seems to have kept up the deception founded on the state of things in Mexico; a deception strengthened by the wandering habits of the Indians. A small tribe, successively appearing at many different points, gave an impression of a large population in its rear.

The French authorities judged correctly[12] that the Franciscans, who were vowed to poverty, were less adapted to deal with this supposed vast population than the Jesuits, who could, with propriety, combine the allurements of barter or traffic with those of religion. The savages had shown an indisposition to trade. The Franciscans had already explored the valley of the St. Lawrence, but so slowly as to excite a feeling of disappointment; the Jesuits more quickly pushed their way into the country of the Hurons on the north of Lake Erie, and to the satisfaction of Catholic Europe, established what was called a Huron Christendom. Their next advance was toward Lake Michigan, the vicinity of which they explored. In a birch-bark canoe Father Raymbault[13] (1641) reached Sault St. Marie.[14] These were no journeys of pleasure. That good man himself lost his life in the cause. Many of his comrades were murdered by the Mohawks, some being scalped and tortured; some burned to death in a rosin fire; some scalded with boiling water.

But these explosions of savage cruelty were powerless to restrain a movement upheld by a steadily acting religious principle. Father Allouez[15] made his way past the Pictured Rocks and gained the western [4] shore of Lake Superior. Some Illinois Indians, who visited him, told him that there was a great river that flowed through their country to the South, but whither it then went they did not know. They called it the Mississippi.

The exploration of this great river, and of the valley through which it flowed, was the next step, but [16] it was not until midsummer, 1673, that Father Marquette,[17] with six other Frenchmen and two Indians, carrying their canoes on their backs, crossed the ridge that divides the waters flowing into the Atlantic from those that descend into the great valley. They passed down the Wisconsin, and reached the Mississippi at Prairie du Chien. Following the stream, they discovered the mouths of its great affluents, the Missouri and the Ohio, continuing their exploration until they reached the Arkansas, which was the limit of their voyage. Marquette supposed that his discoveries strengthened his expectation that the river emptied into the Gulf of Mexico. On this point there had been much difference of opinion. Some supposed that the course was westwardly to the Pacific; some eastwardly through Virginia; some southwestwardly through Florida. La Salle,[18] at once a fur-trader and Jesuit, resolved to determine the problem. He continued the exploration from the point at which Marquette had left off, and at length found himself in the Gulf of Mexico. He claimed the territory through which he had passed for France, and called it, after her monarch, Louisiana.

Engaged thus in settling this geographical problem, the Jesuit fathers by no means forgot their religious duties. They preached the gospel wherever they could. Their pious labors were not, however, rewarded with [5] the expected success. Now began to come into view the true cause of their failure. The Indian population was vastly less than had been [19] supposed. The missionaries themselves [20] detected the misconception under which they had labored. They speak of "appalling journeys through absolute solitudes." They represent their vocation as "a chase after a savage who was scarce ever to be found." Mr. Bancroft [21] estimates that [22] the Indian population of the Atlantic region between the Gulf of Mexico and the St. Lawrence did not, in reality, exceed 180,000 souls, an insignificant number spread over an immense area. At the time of La Salle's voyage, the French population in America was about 11,000 persons.

Of the line which the missionaries had thus explored, the French government took possession, establishing not only upon it, but also in the country eastward toward the Atlantic, military posts or forts, wherever military considerations indicated. Whilst the Mississippi furnished them an unassailable base of communication, the rivers descending the eastern incline of its valley gave them access as far as [23] the foot of the Alleghenies, and enabled them to bear upon the English settlements established along the verge of the Atlantic Ocean. [6]

NOTES

1. Cristoforo Colombo (1451–1506).
2. MS: "setting" cancelled and amended to "mending."
3. MS: "ringing" cancelled before "sounding."
4. MS: "from" repeated.
5. MS: "dense" cancelled and amended to "great."
6. Francisco Pizarro (1471 or 1475–1541).
7. MS: "numbers" cancelled before "number."
8. MS: "Benedi" cancelled before "Franciscans."
9. MS: "never" cancelled and amended to "not."
10. Samuel de Champlain (1567–1635).
11. MS: "the" cancelled before "Canada."
12. MS: "surely" cancelled and amended to "correctly."
13. Charles Raymbault (1602–1643).
14. MS: "Mary."
15. Claude Jean Allouez (1622–1689).
16. MS: "in advance" cancelled before "but."
17. Jacques Marquette (1637–1675).
18. Rene Robert La Salle (1643–1687).
19. MS: "it was" cancelled and amended to "had been."
20. MS: "They" cancelled and amended to "The missionaries."
21. George Bancroft (1800–1891). Draper's preliminary account is summarized from his reading in the histories of Bancroft and Francis Parkman and, as his remarks in chap. 1 and 2 indicate, other sources, embellished by his own interpretation. A considerable portion of Draper's library is preserved in the Smithsonian Institution, but the lack of relevant historical works there casts doubt upon which editions he used for these general remarks.
22. MS: "Bancroft gives an estimate that" partially cancelled and amended to "Bancroft estimates that."
23. MS: "to" cancelled and amended to "as far as."

II

If the codfish was at the basis of the French movements in America, tobacco was at the basis of the English. The statesman may sardonically, and yet profitably, consider on what an ignoble foundation great political results often depend.

The Spaniards had brought from the West India islands the leaves of a plant which, converted into snuff, produced a pleasant titillation in the nostrils. They followed up this pleasing announcement by the discovery that these leaves, if put into a pipe and smoked, "calmed the agitations of our [1] corporeal frame and soothed the anxieties and distresses of the mind." To produce the best effect, the smoke of these leaves was to be received into the mouth, and expelled through the nose.

Some gallants connected with the English court, but whose geographical knowledge was not very exact, concluded that it would be well for them, considering the political vicissitudes of the times, to cross the Atlantic, with the intention of founding settlements in America. Accordingly, under the lead of Sir Walter Raleigh,[2] they explored Ocracoke Inlet and examined Roanoke Island. It was their impression that the Roanoke River had its origin in some rocks abounding in gold near the Pacific Ocean, and [3] that there was a great city near its fountains, thickly studded with pearls. They found by experience that they were mistaken. This was about 1585. A few years subsequently (1607), under what was [4] [7] called the London Company, the colonization of Virginia was commenced under a charter from King James I. From that prince, the chief river, yellow and wide and lazily flowing between pine-clad banks, derives its name. The expedition established itself at Jamestown. Its character may be understood from a description of the persons who followed its pioneers. They were "goldsmiths, refiners, gallants, gentlemen, rakes, and libertines." [5] They conducted an expedition as far as the site of where Richmond now stands for the discovery of the Pacific Ocean; they explored Chesapeake Bay, its rivers and territories; and Cap-

tain Smith,[6] one of its leaders, had a romantic adventure with the Indian princess, Pocahontas.[7] However, so great were their [8] misfortunes, that eventually, out of 490 persons, only 60 were left. Gold-hunting was useless, for of gold there was none. The Indians could not tell them anything about the Pacific Ocean. Many of them, however, believed that the little Chickahominy led immediately to it—the Chickahominy destined in after times to suggest such bloodstained recollections.

What was it that sustained the emigrants in these and other such deplorable disasters happening to other attempts? The cultivation of tobacco.[9] Plantations became profitable. Women as well as men began to come over the ocean. The colonists would give 120 [10] pounds of tobacco for a plain-looking wife. They would not hesitate at 150 if she was pretty.[11]

Meantime, at the northeast,[12] in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and [13] Rhode Island, emigration founded on a different basis was taking place. The Reformation had shaken religious Europe to its foundations, [8] but the independence that the various northern nations had made good from Rome, they refused [14] to concede to their own people. The Puritan fathers made their way to New England, encountering in their settlement fearful hardships. With the remorseless religious tyranny under which they themselves had suffered, they drove Roger Williams [15] into Rhode Island. In the more central parts of the coast, in Maryland, the Catholics made a settlement, and it should never be forgotten that they gave to everyone, [16] irrespective of his religious opinions, a right to settle with them. Catholics though they were, they founded their society on religious freedom, and permitted no persecuting laws. Like the French on the north, and their gold-hunting English brethren at the south, they had to correct some misconceptions. Their object was trading in furs, but the supply of the peltry trade proved inadequate. They had to turn to the cultivation of tobacco.

To some English noblemen, a proprietary charter was given for the settlement of South Carolina, as a land speculation. Their ample territory had a front defined by what are now the coasts of North Carolina, South Carolina, and [17] Georgia; it extended westward to the Pacific Ocean, though no one knew how far off that might be. A constitution for its government was devised by the celebrated philosopher Locke.[18] Negro slaves were imported from Africa. On the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Huguenots emigrated from the Calvinistic districts of France.

If we except such minor additions to this Atlantic population as those of the Dutch in New York, and the [19] Swedes in Pennsylvania, it [20] may be considered as an English colony. In the [9] [21]

North its foundation was the religious sentiment of the Puritan, in the South the more material occupation of the tobacco-planter. If we consider the respective relations of these, without difficulty we discern that those of the Southern man were of a wider kind. His tobacco brought him in correspondence with a foreign world. With that more extended horizon, his views were expanded and liberalized. On the other hand, the Puritan looked upon Europe with dislike; he had reason so to do. His affairs [22] concerned only himself, or at best those of his own thinking immediately around him. If there were any across the ocean in whom he took interest, they were his co-religionists, and of these there were few.

But there was one thing in which these colonists of the North and colonists of the South had a common interest. They had a common enemy—the French. These, who as we have seen pressed them down on their first foothold by the Atlantic, also distressed them by forays with Indian savages, who spared neither age nor sex.

It has sometimes been demanded to which of these sections, the North or [23] the South, should the greater influence in [24] the earlier events of American history be ascribed. We cannot easily divest ourselves of the bias of local interests. Many heed with reverence the stern Puritanism of the North, and in that they do well; many view with admiration the larger policy of the South, and in this they also do well. But perhaps the impartial historian may be permitted to recall the fact that the first President of the United States was a Virginian, and he was re-elected; the second was from the North, and he was not re-elected; [10] the third was a Virginian, and he was re-elected; the fourth was a Virginian, and he was re-elected; the fifth was a Virginian, and he was re-elected. It is true that this is a test taken from later times, and therefore open to objection.

In the English colonies, there were three distinct forms of government: the charter governments of New England; the royal governments of New York, New Jersey, Virginia, and [25] North and South Carolina; and [26] the proprietary governments in Pennsylvania and [27] Maryland. The last of these is of chief interest to us in our special subject. For a time, this form prevailed in the Carolinas and [28] Jerseys. The proprietors were individuals to whom territories had been granted by the Crown. They were empowered, with certain restrictions, to establish civil governments, and to make laws. There were, in many cases, colonial assemblies, partly summoned by the proprietors, and partly chosen by the people. Quarrels were incessantly arising between the people and the proprietors, for the latter claimed a right of repealing the acts of the assemblies, and, as we shall now find abundant occasion to remark, of insisting that their

estates should not be taxed, thus throwing heavy pecuniary burdens on the people.

Not until the conquest of New York, New Jersey, and Delaware in 1664, was the whole line of country from Maine to Carolina brought under the dominion of the English. While the Dutch held New Netherland, as New York was then called, they incommoded the neighboring colonies so severely, that a confederation of some of the eastern colonies, under the [11] designation of the United Colonies of New England, was formed for protection against them and the Indians. But far more serious were the troubles in which the colonies were involved in consequence of the wars between France and England. In the interval between 1689 and 1760, they were thus entangled in four wars, occupying in all a period of twenty-seven years. In 1759 Quebec, the most important military position in Canada, was taken by Wolfe [29] after a battle on the heights of Abraham, in which himself and his French antagonist Montcalm [30] were both killed, and the conquest of Canada was afterwards completed. By a treaty of peace concluded at Paris (1763), the French possessions were finally ceded to England.

It was necessary, briefly, in a few sentences, thus to recall these earlier facts in colonial history. They serve as an introduction to the biography of Franklin, on which we now enter.

The compression so long exerted by the French on the English colonies now ceased. The cord that had stretched from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico, around the Great Lakes and down the valley of the Mississippi, was loosened at its upper end, and fell to the ground. [12] [31]

NOTES

1. MS: "the mind" cancelled before "our."
2. Walter Raleigh (1552?–1618).
3. not in MS: "and."
4. MS: "was" repeated.
5. One of Draper's sources was George Bancroft. Draper sometimes condensed and altered materials used within quotation marks; see Bancroft's *History of the United States, from the Discovery of the American Continent,* vol. 1 (Boston: Charles Bowen, 1834), p. 154.
6. John Smith (1580–1631).
7. Pocahontas (ca. 1595–1617).
8. MS: "its" cancelled and amended to "their."
9. MS: "that sustained the emigrants The cultivation of tobacco proved exceedingly profitable" partially cancelled and amended to "The cultivation of tobacco."
10. MS: "150" cancelled and amended to "120."
11. MS: "very" cancelled before "pretty."
12. MS: "north east."

13. not in MS: "and."
14. MS: "refuse."
15. Roger Williams (ca. 1603–1683).
16. MS: "every one."
17. not in MS: "and."
18. John Locke (1632–1704).
19. MS: "of" cancelled before "the."
20. MS: "and New York" cancelled before "it."
21. There are two primary flaps pasted on the left margin of MS p. 9 for further revision. The first of these reads: "One of his ancestors had been imprisoned a year and a day 'on suspicion of his being the author of some poetry that touched the character of some great man.'" This is taken from James Parton, *Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin,* 2 vols. (New York: Mason Brothers, 1864), 1: 17. The second primary flap reads: "Peter Folger protested in his doggerel poem 'A looking glass for the times' against the whipping branding and torturing of Quakers and Baptists in New England. see slavery in New England." The information about Folger is from Parton, *Life and Times,* 1: 27.

A secondary flap on MS p. 9 reads:

> Mr. Parton speaking of the intellectual emancipation that Boston had reached in the boyhood of Franklin, says "Boston it is true had been constantly growing less intolerant. Ninety years had passed since the last pair of ears had been cut off, the last nose slit the last tongue bored the last face branded for words spoken or opinions held. It was eighty years since a man was banished for disbelieving in the doctrine of original sin. It was seventy years since the Quaker women were imprisoned three days without food then 'whipped with a threefold knotted whip tearing off their flesh' then banished and doomed to die if they returned. Forty years had passed since twenty seven Quakers of whom six were women were publicly whipped within eight days. For thirty years the service of the church of England had been permitted to be performed in the town. When Franklin was born fourteen years had elapsed since the great execution of witches at Salem. Men and women were however still obliged to confess before the congregation. no man could hold office who was not a member of the established church It was a criminal offense for people to ride or children to play on Sundays and to worship according to the rites of the Catholic church was a capital offense . . . . Still in every neighborhood of New England from a very early period there was a little circle of secret dissenters. Secret they were obliged to be."

This is taken from Parton, *Life and Times,* 1: 62.

22. MS: "affair."
23. MS: "and" cancelled and amended to "or."
24. MS: "be ascribed" cancelled before "in."
25. not in MS: "and."
26. not in MS: "and."
27. MS: "&."
28. MS: "&."
29. James Wolfe (1727–1759).
30. Louis Joseph Montcalm (1712–1759).
31. There are two primary flaps for revision on MS p. 12. The first reads:

> His autobiography was not published in his own language unabridged until 1817 It was then published by his grandson who apparently had delayed the work in view of the interest of his father who was a pensioner of the British government and who died in 1813

An autobiography can never be complete. There may be very important facts which as they involve the feelings or interests of other persons must be excluded. Franklin is no exception. The birth of his illegitimate son, subsequently Governor of New Jersey the estrangement between them their taking opposite sides in the great political events of the times these affairs though doubtless they had often determined the course of his life could not be alluded to. Then he also says that he has omitted "all facts and transactions that may not have tendency to benefit the young reader."

The second primary flap reads: "His autobiography has little interest for the world it is merely a narrative of the doings of a sharp New England shop keeper not of that demigod greatest among the great men of the world of the last century he who wrenched the thunderbolts from Jupiter and the sceptre from tyrants."

There are three secondary flaps on MS p. 12. The first reads: "He became a freethinker at fifteen but he never lost faith in one Supreme and Most Perfect Being who neither expects nor desires the worship of man He is above it. Of this pure Being he entertains such awful views that he cannot for a moment believe him acting after the manner of man Above all he will not blaspheme him by reputing to him the begetting of a Son." The second reads: "Franklin corrupted Ralph with his deistical opinions.

"Franklin had agreed with his friend Osborn that whoever of them died first should appear to the survivor and reveal the secrets of the other world But Osborn broke his promise He never came." The text of the third is: "The character and mental condition of young Franklin is very well illustrated by an anecdote related of him His father was in the habit of giving very long and very tedious graces before and after meals One day when the winters provisions had been salted I think father if you were to say grace over the whole cask, once for all, it would be a vast saving of time."

A tertiary flap on MS p. 12 reads:

Little suspecting the course of his future life in a Litany he composed for his personal use he prays that he may be loyal to his prince, faithful to his country abhorring treason as much as tyranny

In a letter to his father who had heard of his free thinking he protests that it is not in his power to change his opinions at his pleasure, a man could no more think than he could look like another At the last day we shall not be examined on what we thought but on what we did. As he grew older he avoided all conversation all consideration on theology He resolved to say nothing, to write nothing calculated to disturb the religious belief of any one

His illegitimate Son William Franklin who became governor of New Jersey was born about a year after the date of his liturgy.

III

A runaway apprentice came to Philadelphia in the autumn of 1723. He had escaped from Boston, where he was serving his time to his brother, who had a small printing establishment. He had expected to find work in New York, but being disappointed in this, at the recommendation of a person to whom he had offered his services, he went on to [1] Philadelphia. As he tells us in his autobiography, he made so miserable a figure, that he found by the questions asked him, that he was suspected of being some runaway indentured servant, and was in danger of being taken up on that suspicion. He was 17 years of age and [2] had one dollar and about a shilling's worth of copper coin. He was dirty, and in his working dress, his better clothes coming round by sea; his pockets were stuffed out with shirts and stockings; he knew no one, nor where to look for a lodging. He bought three pennies' [3] worth of bread, and went up [4] the street eating it. He passed by a door where a young woman was standing. She subsequently told him she saw his most awkward and ridiculous appearance. She was destined to be his wife. "I have been the more particular in this description of my first entry into that city, that you may in your mind compare such unlikely beginnings with the figure I have since made there." [5] So says Benjamin Franklin, for that was the runaway's name—a name destined for world-wide celebrity, and earthly im[13] [6]mortality. His story is an exemplar to all struggling young men; it shows what fidelity, industry, and perseverance can do.

There were at that time but two printers [7] in Philadelphia; their offices were small, their types worn, and their presses damaged. In one of these Franklin found work, and by degrees began to make [8] acquaintances among the young people of the town. Accident brought him to the knowledge of Sir William Keith,[9] the Governor of the province, who was desirous of having the public printing better executed than it had been. He urged Franklin to set up in the business, and promised him his influence. He proposed to send

him to England, that he might buy the types and other necessary equipment for a small office, and engaged to furnish the necessary money himself. Once a year, a ship passed between London and Philadelphia. In this, after much delay, he took passage in the *London Hope,* Captain [10] Annis, and arrived in London about Christmas, 1724.

Now he found that Governor Keith had deceived him. Neither the promised letters of introduction nor the promised pecuniary supplies were forthcoming. In his extremity, Franklin exclaimed: "What should be thought of a governor playing such pitiful tricks, and imposing so grossly on a poor ignorant boy! It was a habit he had acquired. He wished to please everybody; and having little to give, he gave expectations." [11] In his extremity, Franklin sought for work in one of the large printing houses, and luckily obtained it. There he remained for nearly a year.

Being employed in composing for the second edition of Wollaston's [12] "Religion of Nature" he was led to write a short piece entitled "A Dissertation on [14] [13] Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain." This brought him to the notice of Dr. Mandeville,[14] an author of some celebrity. Having brought from America some few curiosities, among them a purse made of asbestos, Sir Hans Sloane [15] came to see him, shewed him all the curiosities in his fine collection, persuaded him to add this to them, and paid him for it handsomely.

Franklin was now thinking of opening a swimming school, having received some inducements to do so, but meeting with a wealthy merchant, Mr. Denham,[16] who had come from America on the same ship, was persuaded by him to return to Philadelphia, and engage in business as his clerk. He accordingly after a residence of about eighteen months left London and landed in Philadelphia in [17] October, 1726.

His employment came to an abrupt termination by the death of his principal, Mr. Denham. He was constrained to return to his old occupation, and his old printing office. There he cast types, made ink, furnished engravings, and, having to print some paper money for New Jersey, supplied cuts and other ornaments. This brought him to the acquaintance and esteem of several influential persons in that province.

Now he resolved to set up for himself. He obtained good types from London, rented a house, and let a portion of it, in order to make the payment easier, to one Thomas Godfrey,[18] the inventor of that instrument invaluable in navigation known as Hadley's quadrant. Scarcely had he [19] got his types in order, when there came in a countryman, to have a piece of printing done at the cost of four shillings. Of this Franklin remarks: "being our first-fruits, and com-

ing so seasonably, gave me more pleasure than any crown I have since [15] [20] earned." [21]

With a view of increasing his business, he established a secret club, or Junto, of several of the more active and influential young men. Ostensibly their object was mutual mental improvement; to this they added mutual assistance in their business affairs. He soon found the advantages of this. One member procured for him some printing from the Quakers; another enabled him to obtain stationery [22] on easy terms. In a fortunate moment, a person who had been attempting to establish a newspaper, but had not met with much success, offered it to Franklin for a trifle; he purchased it, and he says: "it proved in a few years extremely profitable to me." [23]

It was profitable in a double sense, pecuniarily, and in the local influence it enabled him to exert. He could accomplish his purposes anonymously. He was perhaps the first person in America who used the press for the purpose of what is now termed "manufacturing public opinion."

He says: "Our first papers made quite a different appearance from any before in the province; a better type, and better printed; but some remarks of my writing, on the dispute then going on with Governor Burnet, [24] and the Massachusetts Assembly, struck the principal people, occasioned the paper and the manager of it to be much talked of, and in a few weeks brought them all to be our subscribers. Their example was followed by many, and our number went on growing continually. This was one of the first good effects of my having learned a little to scribble; another was that the leading men, seeing a newspaper now in the hands of those who could also handle a pen, [16] [25] thought it convenient to oblige and encourage me. Bradford [26] still printed the votes, and laws, and other public business. He had printed an address of the House to the Governor, in a coarse, blundering manner; we reprinted it elegantly and correctly, and sent one to every member. They were sensible of the difference, it strengthened the hands of our friends in the House, and they voted us their printers for the year ensuing." [27]

The ownership of this newspaper, for it soon passed altogether into his hands, was a most important event in Franklin's public life. A question had arisen in the province—it has arisen in other countries again and again—on the necessity of increasing the paper currency. There was a clamor for its increase among the people, but the wealthy inhabitants opposed any addition. Franklin caused the subject to be discussed in his Junto, and thus made himself familiar with the expected effects on both sides. He himself looked favorably on an increase. He wrote an anonymous pamphlet entitled "The Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency." "It was well received by

the common people in general; but the rich men disliked it, for it increased and strengthened the clamor for more money; and, they happening to have no writers among them who were able to answer it, their opposition slackened, and the point was carried by a majority of the House. My friends there, who considered that I had been of some service, thought fit to reward me by employing me to print the money; a very profitable job, and a great help to me." [28]

Franklin was now on the highway of prosperity. [17] He obtained the printing of the Newcastle paper money, and the printing of the laws and votes of that government, which he says was "another profitable job." [29] He opened a stationer's shop, paid off the debts contracted for his printing establishment, was frugal and industrious, dressed plainly, was seen at no places of idle diversion, never went out a-fishing or shooting; "a book," he says, "sometimes debauched me from my work, but that was seldom, was private, and gave no scandal; and, to show that I was not above my business, I sometimes brought home the paper I purchased at the stores, through the streets on a wheelbarrow." [30]

In 1731, he being now 25 years of age, married the lady who, standing at her father's door, saw him at his advent in Philadelphia, pass along [31] the street eating his roll.[32] In the meantime, while he was absent in England, she had been married. She proved "a fond and faithful helpmate," [33] and [34] assisted him much by attending to the shop. They throve together, and ever mutually endeavored [35] to make each other happy. Desirous of making himself useful and popular in the place of his residence, he set on foot a subscription library, obtained a charter for it, and this he says "was the mother of all the North American subscription libraries, now so numerous. These libraries have improved the general conversation of the Americans, made the common tradesmen and farmers as intelligent as most gentlemen from other countries, and perhaps have contributed in some degree to the stand so generally made throughout the colonies in defence of their privileges." [36]

He lost no opportunity of making himself generally useful. Watson in his "Annals of Philadelphia" [18] states that the yellow willow tree, now so common throughout the country, was first introduced into America by Franklin. A wicker basket made of willow, in which some foreign article had been imported, he saw sprouting in a ditch, and directed some of the twigs to be planted. They took root, and from their shoots are supposed to have sprung all the yellow willows which have grown on this side of the Atlantic.[37]

The foundation of the Philadelphia Library offers an instance of Franklin's anonymous method: "The objections and reluctances I met with, in soliciting subscriptions, made me soon feel the impro-

priety of presenting oneself as the proposer of any useful project, that might be supposed to raise one's reputation in the smallest degree above that of one's neighbors, when one has need of their assistance to accomplish that project. I therefore put myself as much as I could out of sight, and stated it as a scheme of a number of friends, who had requested me to go about and propose it to such as they thought lovers of reading. In this way my affair went on more smoothly, and I ever practised it on such occasions; and from my frequent successes, can heartily recommend it. The present little sacrifice of your vanity will afterwards be amply repaid. If it remains a while uncertain to whom the merit belongs, some one more vain than yourself may be encouraged to claim it, and then even envy will be disposed to do you justice, by plucking those assumed feathers, and restoring them to their right owner." [38]

This incident is very characteristic of Franklin. On a small scale it illustrates the principles of Machiavelli,[39] and as we shall subsequently find, [19] they were strikingly displayed on that greater field of national politics in which Franklin was called upon to play so conspicuous a part.

In 1732 he began the publication of "Poor Richard's Almanac." It attained such celebrity that it had what may without any exaggeration be called "prodigious success." It came to be in such demand that he "reaped considerable profit from it; vending annually near ten thousand copies." [40] He filled it with proverbial sentences, inculcating "industry and frugality, as the means of procuring wealth, and thereby securing virtue; it being difficult for a man in want to act always honestly, or, to use here one of those proverbs, it is hard for an empty sack to stand upright." [41]

Such proverbs, "containing the wisdom of many ages and nations, he assembled and formed into a connected discourse prefixed to the almanac of 1757, as the harangue of a wise old man to the people attending an auction. This piece, being universally approved, was copied in all the newspapers of the American Continent, reprinted in Britain on a large sheet of paper, to be stuck up in houses; two translations were made of it in France, and great numbers bought by the clergy and gentry, to distribute gratis among their poor parishioners and tenants. In Pennsylvania, as it discouraged useless expense in foreign superfluities, some thought it had its share of influence in producing that growing plenty of money, which was observable for many years after its publication." [42]

It is proper to recall, that about this time, he began to study modern languages, soon making himself master of French, so as to be able to read that language [20] with ease. To this he afterwards added Italian and Spanish. Heretofore, he had had but one year's

instruction in a Latin school, and that being when he was very young; he had subsequently neglected that language entirely. Now he found that he could understand it better than he had imagined; those modern languages had greatly smoothed his way. This led him to recommend students to begin by acquiring modern languages first, and then to proceed to the ancients, since if they should, as is too often the case, quit their studies, they would find that what they had learned of Latin would be altogether useless, but it would have been better had they begun with French, and [43] then proceeded to Italian and Latin. For, though after spending the same time, they should quit the study of languages, and never have arrived at Latin, they would have acquired another tongue or two, that being in modern use, might be serviceable to them in common life.

He was soon (1736) occupying so prominent a position that he was chosen clerk of the General Assembly. In the following year there was a strong opposition on the part of an influential member, who desired the appointment of another person.[44] Franklin was however chosen. He says this was "the more agreeable to me, as, besides the pay for the immediate service of clerk, the place gave me a better opportunity of keeping up an interest among the members, which secured to me the business of printing the votes, laws, paper money, and other occasional jobs for the public, that, on the whole, were very profitable." [45]

The manner in which he succeeded in abating the opposition of this new member affords an amusing instance of his Machiavellianism: "I did not aim [21] at gaining his favor by paying any servile respect to him, but, after some time, took this other method. Having heard that he had in his library a certain very scarce and curious book, I wrote a note to him, expressing my desire of perusing that book, and requesting that he would do me the favor of lending it to me for a few days. He sent it immediately; and I returned it in about a week with another note, expressing strongly the sense of the favor. When we next met in the House, he spoke to me, which he had never done before, and with great civility; and he ever after manifested a readiness to serve me on all occasions, so that we became great friends, and our friendship continued to his death. This is another instance of the truth of an old maxim I had learned, which says, 'He that has once done you a kindness, will be more ready to do you another, than he whom you yourself have obliged.'" [46] Machiavelli, in his "Prince," has told us that it is the nature of mankind to become attached to one as much by the benefits they render, as by the favors they receive.

He next secured the office of Deputy Postmaster General; this he found a great advantage, for, though the salary was small, this facili-

tated a correspondence that improved the newspaper, increased the number demanded, as well as the advertisements to be inserted, so that it came to afford a considerable income. With a view of making himself conspicuously useful, he suggested improvements in the city police, and established a Fire Company and a Philosophical Society, took an active part in providing means of defence in the Spanish War, declined the colonelcy of a regiment that had been raised, and [47] was sent to New York to procure cannon. This activity [22] [48] in these affairs was agreeable to the Governor and Council. They took him into their confidence. Calling on the aid of religion, he proposed the proclamation of a fast, and wrote it. This increased his influence among the clergy and their congregations. He invented a stove for the better warming of rooms, and at the same time saving fuel, as the fresh air was warmed in entering, but declined to take out a patent for it saying "that, as we enjoy great advantages from the inventions of others, we should be glad of an opportunity to serve others by any invention of ours; and this we should do freely and generously." [49] From this principle of Franklin's, we may, however, dissent; if accepted, it would be a fatal obstruction to inventive talent, and there is nothing more ungenerous in protecting one's inventions by a patent than there is in protecting one's writings by a copyright.

On the conclusion of peace, Franklin published a pamphlet entitled "Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania." Operating anonymously through the Junto, he carried into effect his proposal of establishing an Academy, and was appointed one of its trustees. This in the course of years became [50] the University. He was made a Justice of the Peace, chosen as one of the common council, and a representative in the Assembly. He was sent with other commissioners to make a treaty with the Indians. He succeeded in establishing the Pennsylvania Hospital, a great and useful institution, exerted himself for the better cleaning and lighting of the city, received a commission from the Postmaster General of England appointing him Postmaster General of America, and [51] received the degree of Master of Arts from Harvard and Yale College. These were conferred in consideration of [23] the improvements and discoveries he had made in the electric branch of natural philosophy.

What were these discoveries and inventions? It is important that we should understand their value. They were the basis on which Franklin's vast foreign reputation rested; a reputation of singular political use in securing the alliance with France, and eventually the European acknowledgement of the independence of the United States.

Whoever has read with an impartial mind the preceding pages, the facts they present having been mainly obtained from Franklin's autobiography,[52] and therefore to be regarded as authentic, will find in them nothing to excite surprize, nor, indeed, much admiration. They are the record of what a clear-headed man with an instinct for business affairs might do, and what thousands of such men have done. They might entitle him to the respect and gratitude of the inhabitants of the little town in which his lot had been cast, for in those days it was a little town, not the great metropolis it now is. But the time had come [53] which was to exalt Franklin high among his fellow men, and extort for him the admiration of the whole world. [24]

NOTES

1. MS: "the" cancelled before "to."
2. not in MS: "and."
3. MS: "penny's."
4. MS: "down" cancelled and amended to "up."
5. From "Life of Franklin" (Franklin's autobiography), in Jared Sparks, ed., *The Works of Benjamin Franklin,* 10 vols. (Boston: Hilliard, Gray and Co., 1836–40), 1: 33. Draper has amended the quotation, which reads in Sparks: "I have been the more particular in this description of my journey, and shall be so of my first entry into that city . . . ."
6. A flap for revision, pasted to MS p. 13, reads: "the woods were brown & sere as he went down the Delaware expecting Keiths letters When they got on board they had to take a berth in the steerage But the Attorney General of the Province Andrew Hamilton Esq having been unexpectedly detained they secured his vacant berths."
7. MS: "printing houses" cancelled and amended to "printers."
8. MS: "find" cancelled and amended to "make."
9. William Keith (1680–1749).
10. MS: "Capt."
11. Sparks, 1: 55. Draper has amended the quotation, which reads in Sparks: "But what shall we think of a governor . . . ."
12. William Wollaston (1660–1724)
13. There are two flaps for revision pasted to MS p. 14. The first reads: "In his pamphlet on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain it appears that Franklin had no hope of retaining his personal identity in another life." The second reads: "He wrote a letter to Sir Hans telling him that he had a purse of Salamander cotton and asked if he might wait on him with a view of selling it. Perhaps it was this incident that brought him to the acquaintance and friendship of Peter Collinson a young naturalist who subsequently contributed in no insignificant manner of Franklins scientific reputation. He accompanied him to the ship Berkshire and on parting they exchanged walking sticks & promises to correspond The Berkshire was eighty two days in her voyage from London to Philadelphia

"see Weems Life of Franklin." In "manner of" Draper meant "manner to."
14. Bernard Mandeville (ca. 1670–1773).
15. Hans Sloane (1660–1753).
16. Thomas Denham (d. 1724).

17. not in MS: "in."

18. Thomas Godfrey (1704–1749).

19. MS: "this" cancelled before "he."

20. Three primary flaps for revision are pasted on MS p. 15. The first of these reads: "It consisted originally of twelve members and was a secret society Eventually it became necessary to increase the number and every member was authorized to form a subordinate club with the same rules but without informing them of their connexion with the Junto Only five or six of the members were able to carry this extension into effect. A promotion of the particular interests in business of the members was secured their influence on public affairs was increased, they were better able to manufacture public opinion." The text of the second is: "The junto was an imitation of Cotton Mathers 'Neighborhood benefit Societies' There were several such in Boston." The third reads: "The Boston Newsletter was the only newspaper in America till Franklin was thirteen years old Its title to be regarded as a newspaper perhaps might be disputed since sometimes its European news was thirteen months in arrears."

There are two secondary flaps on MS p. 15. The text of the first reads: "The division of the Junto into Subordinate clubs was a device of Cotton Mathers." The second reads: "While he was connected with his brothers newspaper it teemed with articles against the ministers of Boston for offences of this kind it was suppressed.

"The Courant published Watts' psalms & hymns and made them known to Colonial America A taste for poetical compositions had improved These were preferred to the solemn doggerel of Stenhold and Hopkins."

21. Sparks, 1: 78.

22. MS: "paper" cancelled and amended to "stationary."

23. Sparks, 1: 85.

24. William Burnet (1688–1729).

25. A flap pasted on MS p. 16 reads: "He was disposed to favor paper money because of his skill in its manufacture."

26. Andrew Bradford (1686–1742).

27. Sparks, 1: 86–87.

28. Ibid., pp. 91–92. Draper has amended the last sentence of the quotation from "thought fit to reward me by employing me in printing the money . . . ."

29. Ibid., p. 92.

30. Ibid., p. 93. The quotation has been amended from "and I gave no scandal . . . ." Draper has cancelled "bought" before "purchased."

31. MS: "down" cancelled and amended to "along."

32. Sparks, 1: 96, reads: "I took her to wife, September 1st, 1730." Parton, *Life and Times,* 1: 199, states that the couple were "married" on that date. It is now assumed that Franklin's was a common-law marriage.

33. Sparks, 1: 96. Draper has amended "good" to "fond."

34. not in MS: "and."

35. MS: "endeavord."

36. Sparks, 1: 97. A sentence has been omitted between the two quoted.

37. Watson actually says: "The range of large brick houses on the south side of Chesnut Street, extending from the Bank of the United States up to Fifth street, were built there about 25 years ago, upon what had been previously [Isaac] Norris' garden. The whole front was formerly a garden fence, shaded by a long line of remarkably big catalpa trees, and, down Fifth street, by trees of the yellow willow class, being the first ever planted in Philadelphia—and the whole the product of a wicker-basket found sprouting in Dock creek, taken out and planted in Mr. Norris' garden at the request of Dr. Franklin." John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: E. L. Carey & A. Hart, 1830),

p. 354. Following this passage about the willow, Draper has inserted "Plaster of Paris story" for an addition to the manuscript. This was gained from Sparks, 1: 91; Sparks mentions that the French chemist Jean A. C. Chaptal ascribed to Franklin the introduction into America of the agricultural use of plaster of Paris.

38. Ibid., p. 101, quoted practically verbatim.

39. Niccolo Machiavelli (1469–1527).

40. Sparks, 1: 121. Draper has added the word "copies."

41. Ibid., p. 122, almost verbatim. Following this passage in the MS Draper has written: "A far greater writer than he Junius has said," referring to the pen-name of the author of the well-known group of late eighteenth-century British political pamphlets; their authorship is still disputed.

42. Sparks, 1: 122–23. Draper has made several alterations in the text, not affecting the sense.

43. MS: "&."

44. MS: after "of," "a" and the beginning of an obliterated word have been deleted so that the text reads "another person."

45. Sparks, 1: 130.

46. Ibid., pp. 130–31, practically verbatim.

47. not in MS: "and."

48. A flap on MS p. 22 reads: "Of one of the Earls of Shaftesbury it is related that he was once overheard to say that men of sense were all of one religion 'And what religion is that?' inquired a lady 'That Madame' replied the Earl 'men of sense never tell.' "

49. Sparks, 1: 157.

50. MS: "was" cancelled before "became."

51. not in MS: "and."

52. MS: "own" cancelled before "autobiography."

53. MS: "now" cancelled before "come."

IV

Not without interest do we remark the great change of opinion that has taken place among men with regard to some of the great principles or forces of nature. Thus in the old times, in many Asiatic countries, it was thought the Light and Darkness are equal existences, perpetually opposing one another. These, according to the habit of the times, were personified. An angelic form, the image of purity, brightness, and [1] beauty, was regarded as the typical representative of Light; a diabolical form, black and impure, the representative of Darkness. Great and widespread [2] religious systems were founded on these conceptions. They were [3] disseminated far away from Persia; traces of them are perceptible in the thought of our own times. Zoroaster [4] says: "In the Universe there have been from the beginning two spirits at work, the one making life, the other destroying it. They cause the struggle between good and evil, and all the conflicts in the world." The one is Light, the other shadow; the Sun is the noblest object of human adoration.

But by degrees a correct scientific interpretation was attained. It was at length universally accepted that shadow and darkness are only the partial or total absence of light; that instead of there [5] being two, there is only one principle, which may be present in greater or less quantity. Dualism, which had exercised such a singular influence on human thought, disappeared. [25]

Darkness, then, is the negation, the negative of illumination.

In like manner, as regards a second great principle or force of Nature—Heat. From antiquity it had been received that there are two self-existing antagonistic principles, Heat and Cold. These are in perpetual conflict with each other,[6] and though possessing properties similar to each other, are essentially antagonistic. Some experiments made by the Florentine Academicians after the renaissance of science in Europe seemed to strengthen this view. They apparently discovered that cold rays could be reflected by concave metallic mirrors, after the manner of heat rays. Subsequently, the true explana-

tion of this and many connected facts was given by the Theory of the Exchanges of Heat, and now it is universally admitted that cold is merely the diminution of heat. It stands in the same relation to heat that shadow does to light.[7]

It still happens that in [8] countries in which the Centigrade thermometer is used, expressions are often employed that seem to admit a dualism of this principle. The thermometer alluded to takes the freezing point of water as its starting point, counting from it upwards and downwards. Hence, in France, people will say it is so many degrees of heat, or so many degrees of cold, whereas [9] in America, where [10] the Fahrenheit thermometer is used, we do not so easily fall into such erroneous expressions.

And, as regards a third great principle or force of Nature—Electricity—a similar variation of opinion may be observed.

M. Du Fay,[11] intendant of the gardens of the King of France, and a member of the French Academy of Sciences, [26] published several memoirs on electricity between 1733 and 1737. He discovered, as he supposed, that there are two distinct kinds of electricity; one of these, excited by the rubbing of glass, he called vitreous electricity; the other, excited by the rubbing of sealing wax or other resinous bodies, he called resinous electricity. The characteristics of these two electricities is that they are self-repellent and attract each other. So, at this time, a dualistic conception of the nature of electricity was maintained, as formerly had been the case for light, and also for heat.

In 1745, it was discovered that electricity might be enormously accumulated [12] in suitable vessels—condensors, as they are now called; of these, the Leyden phial is an example. The severe shock it could give on passing through the human body, and many other surprizing experiments that could be made by its use, drew popular attention forcibly to it. It is sufficient for our present purpose to state that this jar is partially coated on its inside and outside with tin foil, and, by means of a wire, electricity can be conveyed to the former coating. When charged, it was supposed that one kind of electricity is accumulated in its inner, and [13] the other on its outer coating; and, that the wonderful effects it can give rise to, are due to the violence with which the two kinds of electricity endeavor to get at each other. This preliminary statement is sufficient to introduce us to the story of Franklin's electrical discoveries.

There came to Boston in 1746, at a time when Franklin happened to be there, a Dr. Spence [14] from Scotland, who brought with him some electrical ap[27]paratus, though he was not very skillful in the use of it. Franklin was greatly struck by his experiments, having never witnessed anything of the kind before, and eventually purchased the

apparatus. It so happened that shortly after his return to Philadelphia, Mr. Collinson,[15] a member of the Royal Society of London, sent a glass tube, such as was then used for electrical purposes, as a present to the Library Company, and with this, Franklin began his experiments.

On Du Fay's theory that there are two electricities, the Leyden jar receives during charging a continual accumulation. As the vitreous increases on one of its coatings, the resinous increases on the other. Franklin's first important discovery was this: that the jar, no matter how highly it might be charged, contained no more electricity than it did before it was charged, but that "as much as was taken from one side was thrown upon the other." [16] From experiments made with singular ingenuity, he gradually came to the idea of deficiency and accumulation. As a clear view [17] of the matter opened out before him, he perceived that electrical facts generally could be accounted for, if it were admitted that there is a certain quantity of electricity naturally belonging to every substance in its unexcited state. If, by suitable means, this quantity be increased, the substance may be said to be plus, or positively electrified; if diminished, minus, or negatively electrified. He at once identified this positive condition with the vitreous electricity of Du Fay, and the negative condition with the resinous. Adding to this conception of admission [28] that electricity is self-repellent, he was able to construct satisfactorily what has since been called the one-fluid theory of electricity, in contradistinction to the two-fluid theory of Du Fay.

In a philosophical point of view, Franklin had thus accomplished for electricity what had previously been accomplished for light and heat. Everyone [18] now held that there are no such entities as darkness and cold; all the phenomena were considered as arising from increases and diminutions, and this was Franklin's conception in the case of electricity.

As an instance of the working of his theory, let us look at the case to which he gave so much attention, that of the Leyden jar. During the act of charging, the outside coating of this must communicate with the ground. When a spark is sent to [19] the inside coating, it repels through the glass of the jar an equivalent quantity from the outside, the inside becoming positive by the accumulation, the outside negative by the diminution. A second spark does the same, and so also a third, or any number. There is an increasing accumulation on one side, an increasing deficiency on the other; but the jar, considered as a whole, contains no more electricity than it did at first. And this would be strictly true, and the jar be able to receive an [20] unlimited charge, but since electrical action is enfeebled by distance, and a certain thickness of glass intervenes between the two coatings,

the quantity driven from the outside to the ground is not equal to that given the inside precisely, but somewhat less. Hence, after a certain point in the charging is reached, the jar refuses [29] to receive any more. All this was understood by Franklin, who, on these principles, invented what is known under the name of the Cascade Battery.

Unquestionably Franklin's one-fluid theory seems to be more accordant with nature than Du Fay's theory of two fluids, and hence it, and the nomenclature positive and negative states depending on it, gradually supplanted the other. Nevertheless, it must be added that there are facts easily explained on Du Fay's theory that cannot be accounted for on Franklin's; among such are the repulsion of negatively electrified bodies, and the distribution of negative electricity on conductors.

A second important discovery made by Franklin is as regards the effect of pointed bodies in drawing off the "electrical fire." I may give it in his own words, extracted from a letter to Mr. Collinson, July, 1747: "Place an iron shot, three or four inches in diameter, on the mouth of a clean, dry glass bottle. By a fine silken thread from the ceiling,[21] right over the mouth of the bottle, suspend a small cork ball, about the bigness of a marble; the thread of such a length, as that the cork ball may rest against the side of the shot. Electrify the shot, and the ball will be repelled to the distance of four or five inches, more or less, according to the quantity of electricity. When in this state, if you present to the shot, the point of a long, slender, sharp bodkin, at six or eight inches distance, the repellency is instantly destroyed, and the cork flies to the shot. A blunt body must be brought within an inch, and draw a spark, to produce [30] the same effect. To prove that the electrical fire is *drawn off* by the point, if you take the blade of the bodkin out of the wooden handle, and fix it in a stick of sealing-wax, and then present it at the distance aforesaid, or if you bring it very near, no such effect follows; but sliding one finger along the wax till you touch the blade, and the ball flies to the shot immediately. If you present the point in the dark, you will see, sometimes at a foot distance and more, a light gather upon it, like that of a fire-fly, or glow-worm; the less sharp the point, the nearer you must bring it to observe the light; and, at whatever distance you see the light, you may draw off the electrical fire, and destroy the repellency." [22]

This property of pointed bodies, of robbing an electrified conductor of its charge, was in reality a direct consequence of Franklin's own theory. He did not at [23] first recognize it as such, but without caring for the explanation, he made a most important application of the fact.

Several persons had remarked points of resemblance between the phenomena of electricity [24] and those of lightning; the zigzag form of the spark, and that of forked lightning; the snap in one case,[25] and thunder in the other. It seemed to them to be a mere difference of degree; the small effect from an insignificant piece of glass and the grand result of a discharge from the sky. No one had yet entertained the magnificent idea of examining this suggestion experimentally.[26] That was reserved for Franklin.

In a paper sent to Collinson, July, 1750, he says: [31] "To determine the question, whether the clouds that contain lightning are electrified or not, I would propose an experiment to be tried where it can be done conveniently. On the top of some high tower or steeple, place a kind of sentry-box, big enough to contain a man and an electrical stand. From the middle of the stand let an iron rod rise and pass bending out of the door, and then upright twenty or thirty feet, pointed very sharp at the end. If the electrical stand be kept clean and dry, a man standing on it, when such clouds are passing low, might be electrified and afford sparks, the rod drawing fire to him from a cloud. If any danger to the man should be apprehended (though I think there would be none), let him stand on the floor of his box, and now and then bring near to the rod the loop of a wire, he holding it by a wax handle; so the sparks, if the rod is electrified, will strike from the rod to the wire, and not affect him." [27] Franklin was mistaken about [28] the risk as the instant death of Professor Richmann at St. Petersburg soon after proved.[29]

Dr. Stuber, in his account of these Philadelphia experiments, as they were called, says: "Philadelphia at this time afforded no opportunity of trying an experiment of this kind. While Franklin was waiting for the erection of a spire, it occurred to him that he might have more ready access to the region of the clouds by means of a common kite. He prepared one by fastening two cross sticks to a silk handkerchief, which would not suffer so much from rain as paper. To the upright stick was affixed an iron point. The string was, as usual, of hemp, except the lower end, which was silk. Where the hempen string terminated, a key was fastened. With this [32] apparatus, on the appearance of a thunder-gust approaching, he went out into the commons, accompanied by his son, to whom alone he communicated his intentions, well knowing the ridicule, which, too generally for the interest of science, awaits unsuccessful experiments in philosophy. He placed himself under a shed, to avoid the rain; his kite was raised, a thunder-cloud passed over it, no sign of electricity appeared. He almost despaired of success, when suddenly he observed the loose fibres of his string to move towards an erect position. He now presented his knuckle to the key, and received a strong

spark. Repeated sparks were drawn from the key, a phial was charged, a shock given, and all the experiments made which are usually performed with electricity.

"About a month before this period, some ingenious Frenchman had completed the discovery in the manner originally proposed by Dr. Franklin. The letters he sent to Mr. Collinson, it is said, were refused a place in the Transactions of the Royal Society of London. However this may be, Collinson published them in a separate volume, under the title of 'New Experiments and Observations on Electricity, made at Philadelphia, in America.' They were read with avidity, and soon translated into different languages. The King, Louis XV.,[30] hearing of these experiments, expressed a wish to be a spectator of them. A course of experiments was given at the seat of the Duc D'Ayen,[31] at St. Germain. The applauses, which the King bestowed upon Franklin, excited Buffon,[32] Dalibard,[33] De Lor." [34]

By these, and by others, the grand experiment of drawing electricity from the thunder-cloud was again and again repeated. The King of France was [33] unsparing in his enthusiasm: "The King of France strictly commands the Abbé Mazéas [35] to write a letter in the politest terms to the Royal Society, to return the King's thanks and compliments, in an express manner, to M. Franklin of Pennsylvania, for his usefull discoveries in electricity, and the application of pointed rods to prevent the terrible effect of thunder-storms." [36]

I would omit, if to [37] do so were not inconsistent with the truth of history, the following paragraph from Dr. Stuber, who was at that time a resident of Philadelphia, and evidently thoroughly acquainted with Franklin's views. I cannot hide from myself, that the sentiment herein revealed had no little to do with the course that Franklin subsequently took, in the great political event with which he subsequently had to deal in so conspicuous a manner, the Independence of the United States. Not that I would, in the faintest way, insinuate that there entered into his mind any feeling of unkindness,[38] any desire of retaliation, but simply that he was impressed with a conviction that justice to an American was not to be expected in England.

Dr. Stuber says: "By these experiments Franklin's theory was established in the most convincing manner. When the truth of it could be no longer doubted, envy and vanity endeavored to detract from its merit. That an American, an inhabitant of the obscure town of Philadelphia, the name of which was hardly known, should be able to make discoveries and to frame theories, which had escaped the notice of the enlightened philosophers of Europe, was too mortifying to be admitted. He must certainly have taken the idea from some one else. An [34] American, a being of an inferior order, make

coveries! Impossible." [39] Franklin himself says: "Obliged as we were to Mr. Collinson for the present of the tube, &c., I thought it right he should be informed of our success in using it, and wrote him several letters containing accounts of our experiments. He got them read in the Royal Society, where they were not at first thought worth so much notice [40] as to be printed in their Transactions. One paper, which I wrote for Mr. Kinnersley,[41] on the sameness of lightning with electricity, I sent to Mr. Mitchel,[42] an acquaintance of mine, and one of the members also of that Society; who wrote me word, that it had been read, but was laughed at by the connoisseurs." [43]

It is true that the Royal Society,[44] as I shall presently relate, made ample amends for this inadvertence of some of its members. But that great Italian writer to whom I have already referred,[45] who knew the character of men so well, bids us bear in mind that "new obligations never extinguish the memory of former injuries in the minds of the superior orders of men." That which soon passes away from the recollection of common men, is by the higher class, neither forgotten nor forgiven.

As soon as Franklin had established the identity of lightning and electricity, he resorted to the principles of the latter for the protection of buildings during thunder-storms by the lightning rod. This consists of two parts, the rod and the conductor. The rod is of iron, eight or ten feet in length, sharply pointed; it is fixed on the roof of the building to be protected; the conductor, a heavy iron bar connecting the [35] lower end of the rod with the ground. Through this line of good conducting material, a passage is open for the discharge, and the building is protected. The protecting power of the rod is, however, limited. It is supposed that it extends over a circular space, the radius of which is double its height. Every care should be taken to preserve the point from being blunted or rusted by oxidation, and hence it is sometimes made of platinum, or of copper gilt. The lower end of the conductor should be buried in the ground, sufficiently deep to reach the damp earth, or in towns, it should be connected with the water or gas pipes. In ships, instead of a rigid rod or bar, a chain or stout wire rope should be used. Franklin supposed that by such means, safety could be secured. At that time, nothing was known of induced currents; that [46] a lightning discharge, passing down a conductor, will induce in neighboring bodies other currents, sufficiently powerful to be very destructive. In cities where the houses are now roofed with tin, or sheet zinc, lightning rods are infrequent, it being supposed sufficient to connect the metal roof with the water or gas pipes of the house, these giving a free passage for the electric discharge.

Many years after Franklin's first invention of the lightning rod, a

question arose (1772), as to the best means of protecting the government powder magazines at Purfleet. A committee of the Royal Society, of which Franklin was a member, advised the use of *pointed* iron rods. There was, however, a minority report to the effect that pointed conductors were dange[36]rous, inasmuch as they attracted the lightning, and might thus overcharge the rod, and promote the mischief they were intended to prevent. The conductor ought therefore to be blunt, or knobbed at the top. Franklin hereupon [47] made a new series of experiments, having the determination of this question in mind. These sustained his former conclusion, and the lightning rods of the magazines at Purfleet were fixed with points.

Five years subsequently, the building of this magazine was struck (1777). The subject was again referred to a committee of the Royal Society, who reported as before in favor of pointed rods. But, by this time, political animosities had arisen. Franklin had become conspicuous as a representative of the interests of the colonies; he was looked upon with disfavor by the King. In the [48] presence of his Majesty, and some members of the royal family, experiments were exhibited in proof of the superiority of blunt conductors. As an intimation of the views of the Court, the pointed conductors on the Queen's palace were taken down, and blunt ones substituted for them.

Some members of the Royal Society advised [49] Franklin, who was then in Paris, to take notice of the matter. In reply, he said: "I have never entered into any controversy in defense of my philosophical opinions; I leave them to take their chance in the world. If they are right, truth and experience will support them; if wrong, they ought to be refuted and rejected. Disputes are apt to sour one's temper, and disturb one's quiet. I have no private interest in the reception of my inventions by the world, have never made, or proposed to make, the least profit [37] by any of them. The King's changing his pointed conductors for blunt ones is, therefore, a matter of small importance to [50] me. If I had a wish about it, it would be that he had rejected them altogether as ineffectual." [51]

I have remarked that the Royal Society rendered justice to Franklin's merit. The circumstances, as he himself relates them, were these. Several letters and papers containing accounts of the experiments, which had been sent to Collinson, came into the hands of Dr. Fothergill.[52] They had been read in the Society, but not printed in its "Transactions." Through Fothergill's advice, Cave,[53] the publisher of the "Gentleman's Magazine," printed these, with some additions, in a quarto volume. A copy, happening to fall into the hands of the celebrated naturalist [54] Buffon, was caused by him to be translated into French, and published in Paris. "What gave the book a

more sudden and general celebrity, was the success of one if its proposed experiments, made by Messrs. Dalibard and De Lor at Marly, for drawing lightning from the clouds. This engaged public attention everywhere. M. De Lor, who had an apparatus for experimental philosophy, and lectured in that branch, undertook to repeat what he called the Philadelphia Experiments; and, after they were performed before the King and court, all the curious of Paris flocked to see them. I will not swell this narrative with an account of that capital experiment, nor of the infinite pleasure I received in the success of a similar one I made soon after with a kite at Philadelphia, as both are found in the histories of electricity.

"Dr. Wright,[55] an English physician, when at [38] Paris, wrote to a friend, who was of the Royal Society, an account of the high esteem my experiments were in among the learned abroad, and of their wonder, that my writings had been so little noticed in England. The Society on this resumed the consideration of the letters that had been read to them; Dr. Watson [56] drew [57] up a summary account of them, and of all I had afterwards sent to England on the subject; which he accompanied with some praise of the writer. This summary was then printed in their Transactions; and some members of the Society in London, particularly the very ingenious Mr. Canton,[58] having verified the experiment of procuring lightning from the clouds by a pointed rod, and acquainted them with the success, they soon made me more than amends for the slight with which they had before treated me. Without my having made any application for that honor, they chose me a member; and voted that I should be excused the customary payments, which would have amounted to twenty-five guineas; and ever since have given me their Transactions gratis. They also presented me with the gold medal of Sir Godfrey Copley, for the year 1753, the delivery of which was accompanied by a very handsome speech of the president, Lord Macclesfield,[59] wherein I was highly honored." [60]

The Earl of Macclesfield, in an address of some length, made some remarks justifying the Society in this, its award of the Copley medal; among many other things he said: "Nor did your Council think it was at all fit and proper to confine their benefaction within the narrow limits of any particular country, much less of this Society itself. [39]

"For they were of opinion, that learned men and philosophers of all nations ought to entertain more enlarged notions; that they should consider themselves and each other as constituent parts and fellow-members of the same illustrious republic, and look upon it to be beneath persons of their character to betray a fond partiality for this or that particular district, where it had happened to be their

own lot, either to be born or reside; and that their benevolence should be universally diffused, and extensive as the knowledge they profess to pursue, and should be sensibly felt by all, who, in their respective stations, contributed their proportion to the common stock of the whole, by their endeavors to promote and advance science and useful knowledge, wherein alone the true interest and welfare of such a republic consist.

"For which reason your Council judged it to be highly expedient that, *Tros Rutulusve ferat,* whoever should deserve well of that learned republic in general, and of this Society in particular, should indifferently partake of your favors and honors.

"Upon these principles your Council proceeded in fixing their choice of a person on whom this honorable mark of distinction should be this day conferred, and on such an occasion they could not overlook the merit of Benjamin Franklin, Esq., of Pennsylvania; for though he is not a Fellow of this Society, nor an inhabitant of this island, he is a subject of the crown of Great Britain, and must be acknowledged to have deserved well of the philosophical world, and of this learned body in particular." [61] [40]

In the foregoing pages, I have devoted so much space to Franklin's two great electrical discoveries, the one-fluid theory and the identity of lightning and electricity, that I am unable to relate his numerous minor inventions and discoveries, though some of them, such, for instance, as his investigation of the properties of the tourmaline, are full of interest.

There are, however, two other important observations of his which demand attention. They are (1) the course of storms over the North American continent, and [62] (2) the Gulf Stream.

First,[63] in October, 1743, there was to be an eclipse of the moon at nine in the evening at Philadelphia. Franklin was unable to see it, the sky being overcast, and a northeast [64] storm prevailing. Subsequently finding that it had been visible at Boston, there being a clear sky at the time, the storm not beginning until about four hours later than in Philadelphia, he made inquiry at what time it had begun at other places, and was satisfied that it was earlier in proportion as the distance of those places was nearer to the Gulf of Mexico. It had been universally supposed that these northeast storms come from the northeast, following the direction of the wind; now it appeared that they come from the southwest,[65] moving in opposition to the northeast [66] wind, at the rate of about one hundred miles an hour. [41]

He relates these circumstances in a letter of February, 1749: [67] "You desire to know my thoughts about the northeast storms beginning to leeward. Some years since, there was an eclipse of the moon

at nine o'clock in the evening, which I intended to observe; but before night a storm blew up at northeast, and continued violent all night and all the next day; the sky thick-clouded, dark, and rainy, so that neither moon nor stars could be seen. The storm did a great deal of damage all along the coast, for we had accounts of it in the newspapers from Boston, Newport, New York, Maryland, and Virginia; but what surprized me was, to find in the Boston newspapers an account of an observation of that eclipse made there; for I thought, as the storm came from the northeast, it must have begun sooner in Boston than with us, and consequently prevented such observation. I wrote to my brother about it, and he informed me, that the eclipse was over there an hour before the storm began. Since which I have made inquiries from time to time of travellers, and of my correspondents northeastward and southwestward, and observed the accounts in the newspapers from New England, New York, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina; and I find it to be a constant fact, that northeast storms begin to leeward; and are often more violent there than to windward. Thus the last October storm, which was with you on the 8th, began on the 7th in Virginia and North Carolina, and was most violent there." [68]

In explanation of this curious, and, as it has since proved, important fact, he supposed that for several days previously to one of these storms, the air had become heated and rarefied by the rays of the sun about the regions of the Gulf of Mexico, and [42] Florida. The cooler and moister air from the northeast flows in, and causes the rarefied air to ascend; clouds and rain are formed by the action of heat upon this cooler and moister air, and thus, the storm begins, with a current of wind setting in from the northeast. The denser air presses upon the lighter, till the current extends itself in a retrograde direction along the whole coast.

Of late years this observation of Franklin's has been greatly extended. It now appears that almost all the great atmospheric disturbances of this continent pass in an easterly or northeasterly direction toward the Atlantic Ocean. Nor do they stop, gaining the sea coast. Why should they do so? Though in making their way over [69] that ocean, some may disappear, many reach the European continent. It follows then, that the approach of these storms may be foretold by telegraph, and that not only in the case of the more intense atmospheric disturbances, but minor ones, such as are designated waves of heat and cold, and variations of atmospheric pressure. The introduction of the land and ocean telegraph for this purpose constitutes an epoch in the science of meteorology. Ships about to cross the Atlantic may be forewarned as to the weather they may expect. Variations of the weather in the western portions of

Florida. The cooler and moister air from the northeast flows in and causes the warmed air to ascend; clouds and rain are formed by the action of heat upon the cooler and moister air and then the storm begins with a current of wind setting in from the northeast. The clouds are pressed upon the lighter till the current exists chiefly as a return tide overhead along the whole coast.

Of late years this observation of Franklins has been greatly extended. It now appears that almost all the great atmospheric disturbances of this continent pass in an easterly or northeasterly direction toward the Atlantic Ocean. Nor do they stop on gaining the sea coast. Why should they do so? Through our whole way over that ocean some may disappear many reach the European continent. It follows then that the approach of these storms may be foretold by telegraph and that too not only in the case of the more intense atmospheric disturbances but more even than such as are designated waves of heat and cold and variations of atmospheric pressure the introduction of the land and ocean telegraph for this purpose constitutes an epoch in the science of meteorology. Ships about to cross the Atlantic may be forewarned as to the weather they may expect. Variations of the weather in the western portions of Europe may be discovered many days previously through the Atlantic cables.

2d Of the Gulf Stream. This is a river of warm water flowing through a colder sea in a northeasterly direction along the American coast toward

A page from the manuscript of "Life of Franklin" in which Draper describes Franklin's meteorological observations. Reproduced with the permission of Daniel C. Draper.

Europe may be announced many days previously, through the Atlantic Cables.

Second,[70] of the Gulf Stream. This is a river of warm water, flowing through a colder sea, in a northeasterly direction along the American coast, toward [43] the Banks of Newfoundland. It then crosses the Atlantic, dividing into two portions; one moves eastward toward the Azores, the other to the British islands and Norway. Its breadth when narrowest is about fifty miles; its velocity about five miles an hour; its color blue, that of the adjacent sea green; its temperature in coming out of the Gulf of Mexico about 84° F. When it reaches the Banks of Newfoundland the vapor rising from it gives rise to perpetual fogs. The waters are there forced to the surface, spreading out in a thin, fan-like form, but in its narrower portions, as between New York and Bermuda, it has great depth, not less than one hundred fathoms.

There[71] can be no doubt that the heat of the Gulf Stream and the warmth it imparts to the southwest[72] wind, the prevalent wind of western Europe, exerts a great influence on the climate of those countries. To be satisfied of this, it is only necessary to compare the mean annual temperature of Ireland, England, or[73] France, with the mean temperature of places in corresponding[74] latitudes on[75] the[76] Atlantic coast of North America. We cannot exaggerate the effect that this grand stream has had upon the development and the history of those countries.

The existence of this current was long ago detected by the New England fishermen, but they had no idea of its magnificent proportions, its great geographical and climatological importance. These were first prominently brought into view by Franklin. In a memoir read at a meeting of the American Philosophical Society, December, 1785, he says: "Vessels are sometimes retarded, and sometimes forwarded in their voyages, by currents at sea, which are not often perceived. About the year 1769 or 1770, [44] there was an application made by the Board of Customs at Boston, to the Lords of the Treasury in London, complaining that the packets between Falmouth and New York were generally a fortnight longer in their passages, than merchant ships from London to Rhode Island, and proposing that for the future they should be ordered to Rhode Island instead of New York. Being then concerned in the management of the American post-office, I happened to be consulted on the occasion; and it appearing strange to me, that there should be such a difference between two places scarce a day's run asunder, especially when the merchant ships are generally deeper laden, and more weakly manned than the packets, and had from London the whole length of the river and channel to run before they left the land of England, while

the packets had only to go from Falmouth, I could not but think the fact misunderstood or misrepresented. There happened then to be in London a Nantucket sea captain of my acquaintance, Captain Folger,[77] to whom I communicated the affair. He told me he believed the fact might be true; but the difference was owing to this, that the Rhode Island captains were acquainted with the Gulf Stream, which those of the English packets were not. 'We are well acquainted with that stream,' says he, 'because in our pursuit of whales, which keep near the sides of it, but are not to be met with in it, we run down along the sides, and frequently cross it to change our side; and in crossing it have sometimes met and spoke with those packets, who were in the middle of it, and stemming it. We have informed them that they were stemming a current, that was against them to the [45] value of three miles an hour; and advised them to cross it and get out of it; but they were too wise to be counselled by simple American fishermen. When the winds are but light,' he added, 'they are carried back by the current more than they are forwarded by the wind; and, if the wind be good, the subtraction of seventy miles a day from their course is of some importance.' I then observed it was a pity no notice was taken of the current upon the charts, and requested him to mark it out for me, which he readily complied with, adding directions for avoiding it in sailing from Europe to North America. I procured it to be engraved by order from the general post-office, on the old chart of the Atlantic, at Mount and Page's, Tower Hill; and copies were sent down to Falmouth for the captains of the packets, who slighted it however; but it is since printed in France, of which edition I hereto annex a copy.

"Having since crossed this stream several times in passing between America and Europe, I have been attentive to sundry circumstances relating to it, by which to know when one is in it, and beside the gulf weed with which it is interspersed, I find, that it is always warmer than the sea on each side of it, and that it does not sparkle in the night. I annex hereto the observations made with the thermometer on two voyages, and possibly may add a third. It will appear from them, that a thermometer may be a useful instrument to a navigator, since currents coming from the northward into southern seas will probably be found colder than the water of those seas, as the currents from southern seas into [46] northern are found warmer. And it is not to be wondered, that so vast a body of deep warm water, several leagues wide, coming from between the tropics and issuing out of the Gulf into the northern seas, should retain its warmth longer than the twenty or thirty days required to its passing the banks of Newfoundland.

"The conclusion from[78] these remarks is, that a vessel from

Europe to North America may shorten her passage by avoiding to stem the stream, in which the thermometer will be very useful; and a vessel from America to Europe may do the same by the same means of keeping in it. It may often have happened accidentally, that voyages have been shortened by these circumstances. It is well to have command of them." [79]

To this above memoir, an appendix was added, and read at a meeting of the American Philosophical Society. It contained directions for the avoidance, or taking advantage of the Gulf Stream, and to it there was attached a chart of the currents.

Though Franklin was not the discoverer of the Gulf Stream, he was the first to bring it prominently into notice; to cause a chart of it to be published; to detect its most important characteristic, its high temperature; to introduce the use of the thermometer; and to point out its importance to navigators. In the paper entitled "Maritime Observations," from which the foregoing facts in relation to this Stream have been obtained, he added tables on [80] the warmth of the sea water in several voyages he had made.[81] [47]

NOTES

1. MS: "&."
2. MS: "wide spread."
3. MS: "spread" cancelled before "were."
4. Zoroaster (fl. ca. 1000 B.C.?).
5. MS: "their."
6. not in MS: "other."
7. Much of the above introductory material to chap. 4 was used, sometimes in different form, in Draper, "Franklin's Place," pp. 268–69; see Introduction, n. 11.
8. not in MS: "in."
9. MS: "where as."
10. not in MS: "where."
11. Charles Dufay (1698–1739).
12. MS: "increased" cancelled before "accumulated."
13. not in MS: "and."
14. The identity of Franklin's "Dr. Spence," so named in his autobiography, was for some time a mystery to historians. The most reasonable solution is furnished by I. Bernard Cohen in his modern edition of Franklin's *Experiments and Observations on Electricity*. Cohen suggests that "Spence" may have been Dr. Adam Spencer, who gave electrical demonstrations in both Boston and Philadelphia at the time. Franklin, who wrote his autobiographical memoir many years after the event, may well have recalled "Spencer" as "Spence." *Benjamin Franklin's Experiments,* ed. I. Bernard Cohen (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1941), pp. 49–54; Cohen, "Benjamin Franklin," *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, 5: 130.
15. Peter Collinson (1694–1768).
16. Draper's quotation is evidently a paraphrase of a passage in Sparks, 5: 174. Sparks is quoting from the "continuation" of Franklin's autobiography written by Henry Stuber (d. 1792), editor of a brief selection of Franklin's writings which

went through numerous editions under various titles. That Draper used Sparks' quotations from Stuber rather than the latter work itself is evident from a further extract.

17. MS: "idea" cancelled and amended to "new."
18. MS: "Every one."
19. MS: "into" cancelled and amended to "to."
20. MS: "and."
21. MS: "cieling."
22. Franklin to Peter Collinson, "July 11," 1747, Sparks, 5: 181–82. The actual date of the letter was May 25, 1747; see Franklin, *Papers,* 3: 126. Draper deviates at several places from Sparks' text without altering the sense.
23. MS: "a."
24. MS: "the electric spark" cancelled and amended to "electricity."
25. Following this line in the MS, Draper has inserted the phrase "the melting of metals," for a further revision.
26. MS: "experimentaly."
27. Franklin to Peter Collinson, July 29, 1750, Sparks, 5: 236–37. Draper has deleted several words.
28. MS: "as to" cancelled and amended to "about."
29. Georg Richmann (1711–1753), the first man to lose his life in an electrical experiment, was killed while trying to confirm the electrical nature of lightning.
30. Louis XV (1710–1774), king of France (1715–1774).
31. Louis de Noailles, duc d'Ayen (1713–1793).
32. George Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon (1707–1768).
33. Thomas-François Dalibard (1703–1799).
34. Delor has not been fully identified; see Franklin, *Papers,* 4: 315n. "Dr. Stuber" was Henry Stuber (see n. 16 above). The fact that Sparks also quoted the passages from Stuber which Draper used, and the use of several words suggesting Sparks' use, indicates that Draper probably pieced together his quotation from parts of Sparks, 5: 174–76. Draper rather awkwardly truncated the last sentence of his quotation (it reads in MS "The applauses which the King bestowed upon Franklin excited in Buffon Dalibard De Lor."), which is continued by Sparks (p. 176) as "The applauses, which the King bestowed upon Franklin, excited in Buffon, Dalibard, and De Lor, an earnest desire of ascertaining the truth of his theory of thunder-gusts."
35. Abbé Guillaume Mazéas (1720–1775).
36. Draper's quotation is quite probably from Sparks, 5: 180, the editor's introduction to Franklin's letters and papers on electricity. Sparks himself took the quotation from a 1753 letter from Peter Collinson to Franklin, which has not been located; see Franklin, *Papers,* 4: 466n.
37. MS: "it were" cancelled before "to."
38. MS: "unkindless."
39. Sparks, 4: 176 (quoting from Stuber). As in the passage above, Draper's transcription is not quite verbatim.
40. MS: "as" cancelled before "notice."
41. Ebenezer Kinnersley (1711–1778).
42. John Mitchell (ca. 1690–1768), the Virginia physician and naturalist.
43. Sparks, 1: 209.
44. MS: "that great society" cancelled and amended to "the Royal Society."
45. i.e., Machiavelli.
46. MS: "and" cancelled before "that."
47. MS: "therefore" cancelled and amended to "hereupon."
48. not in MS: "the."
49. MS: "informed" cancelled and amended to "advised."

50. MS: "for" cancelled and amended to "to."
51. Franklin to "a friend," October 14, 1777, Sparks, 8: 227. Draper's quotation is not quite verbatim.
52. John Fothergill (1712–1780).
53. Edward Cave (1691–1754).
54. MS: "Buffon" and "nat" cancelled before "naturalist."
55. Edward Wright (d. 1761); cf. Franklin, *Papers,* 7: 24n.
56. William Watson (1715–1787).
57. MS: "this summary" cancelled and amended to "Dr. Watson drew."
58. John Canton (1718–1772).
59. George, earl of Macclesfield (1697–1764).
60. Sparks, 1: 211–13. At a few points Draper departs from the text slightly.
61. "Speech of the Earl of Macclesfield," Sparks, 5: 500–501. Draper's transcription is not quite verbatim, as he omits a few words.
62. not in MS: "and."
63. MS: "1st."
64. MS: "north east."
65. MS: "south west."
66. MS: "north east."
67. MS: "letter Feb 1749."
68. Franklin to Jared Eliot, February 13, 1749/50, Sparks, 6: 105–6. Draper's quotation differs from the text in several insignificant particulars.
69. MS: "across" cancelled and amended to "over."
70. MS: "2nd."
71. MS: "The."
72. MS: "south west."
73. not in MS: "or."
74. MS: "the" cancelled before "corresponding."
75. MS: "in."
76. MS: "North" cancelled before "the."
77. Timothy Folger (1732–1814).
78. MS: "is" cancelled before "from."
79. Franklin to David Le Roy, August 1785, Sparks, 6: 485–88. Timothy Folger's name is not in Sparks' text. Draper pieced together three quotations from the letter without furnishing ellipses.
80. MS: "he affixed several" cancelled before "on."
81. The entire result is printed in Sparks, 6: 463–504.

V

From this sketch of Franklin's scientific discoveries and inventions, we now return to the political affairs in which he was destined to act so prominent a part. In foreign countries, his reputation far exceeded that of any other American; in the city of his residence, he was regarded as its most prominent man.

In 1754, there being a prospect of another war with France, the Lords of Trade directed the different colonies to send commissioners to a convention to be held at Albany, for the purpose of conferring with the chiefs of the Six Nations, as to the means of defence. On this occasion Franklin was appointed one of the delegates.

It is significant of the direction his thoughts were taking, that on the journey, he drew up a plan for the union of all the colonies under one government. This, with other propositions of the kind, was referred to a committee, who reported in favor of it. It proposed that a President General should be appointed by the Crown who was to administer the general government, and a council was to be chosen by the representatives of the people in their assemblies. Eventually, after much discussion, the plan was unanimously agreed to, and copies ordered to be transmitted to the Board of Trade and the province assemblies. These did not approve of it—the Board thought it too democratic, the assemblies that it leaned[1] too [48] much to *prerogation*. Another plan was therefore suggested in its stead, but this involved an important, an ominous concession—the right of Parliament to lay a tax on America.

The foreign relations of the American colonies at this time is very clearly set forth by Franklin. Those colonies, as we have seen on preceding pages, were compressed upon the Atlantic border by a chain of French military establishments, extending from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to that of the Mississippi. He says: "The great country back of the Appalachian Mountains, on both sides of the Ohio, and between that river and the Lakes is now known, both to the English and the French, to be one of the finest in North Amer-

ica, for the extreme richness and fertility of the land; the healthy temperature of the air, and mildness of the climate; the plenty of hunting, fishing, and fowling; the facility of trade with the Indians; and the vast convenience of inland navigation or water-carriage by the Lakes and great rivers, many hundreds of leagues around.

"From these natural advantages it must undoubtedly (perhaps in less than another century) become a populous and powerful dominion; and a great accession of power either to England or to France.

"The French are now making open encroachments on these territories, in defiance of our known rights; and, if we longer delay to settle that country, inconveniences and mischiefs will probably follow. Our people, being confined to the country between the Appalachian Mountains and the Atlantic, cannot much more [49] increase in number; but the French will increase by that acquired room and plenty of subsistence, and become a great people behind us. Our debtors, servants, and slaves, will desert to them, strengthening them and weakening us; they will cut us off [2] from [3] commerce and alliance with the western Indians, and set those Indians as they have heretofore done to harass our people." [4]

He therefore advocates the establishment of two strong English colonies between the Ohio and Lake Erie, affirming that they would give security to the back settlements of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas, by preventing the excursions of the French. They would also prevent the dreaded junction of the French settlements in Canada with those of Louisiana, and in case of a war, it would be easy for them to annoy Louisiana, by going down the Ohio and Mississippi; and also through these channels and the Lakes, a great interior trade might be carried on.

Drawing attention to the fact that the grants to most of the colonies are of long narrow strips of land from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and therefore of an unmanageable shape—their extremes being too far asunder—he proposes to take the Appalachian Mountains as a limit, and have new colonies on the western slope of those mountains, down to the Mississippi River.

After the conquest of Canada by the English, an influential party in England favored its restoration to the French, preferring the retention of certain of the West India islands. On this occasion Franklin wrote with great ability that "to leave the French [50] in possession of Canada, when it is in our power to remove them, and to depend on our own 'strength and watchfulness' to prevent the mischiefs that may attend it, is neither safe nor prudent." "Canada in the hands of France has always stunted the growth of our colonies, and has disturbed the strongest of them, by compelling an expenditure of two or three millions sterling every year."

There lay at the bottom of this desire to restore Canada to the French and to throw away the glorious conquest of Wolfe a very remarkable reason. If the French were left there, they would check the growth of the colonies, which otherwise would "extend themselves almost without bounds into the inland parts, and increase infinitely from all causes; becoming a numerous, hardy, and independent people; possessed of a strong country, communicating little or not at all with England, living wholly on their own labor, and in process of time knowing little and inquiring little about the mother country.

"In short, the present colonies are large enough and numerous enough; and the French ought to be left in North America to prevent their increase, lest they become not only useless, but dangerous to Britain." On this Franklin remarks: "It is very true that the colonists were increasing amazingly, doubling their number every twenty-five years, by natural generation only; exclusive of emigration." He states that "in a century more, the number of English in America will probably be greater than that in England itself, but that it does not follow that they will become either useless or dangerous to the mother country; on the contrary, they will increase the demand for [51] her manufactures, increase her trade, and add greatly to her naval power." [5] Subsequently, however, it was generally thought in England that the retention of Canada had been a serious political mistake: "Had not the French been removed from Canada, the American Revolution could never have taken place." "The Americans would have had something else to do than revolt."

The compression exerted by the French previous to the conquest of Canada was, however, the immediate cause of those preparatory attempts which, though at first abortive, eventually matured in the Union; and hence, the remark is justified that it left a permanent impress on the destiny of the colonies.

But I am anticipating in thus alluding to the effects of the removal of the French from Canada, for the war which brought about that result was not declared until 1756. In the preparatory movements, Franklin, who was then a member of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, took a very active part. That Assembly having voted a grant for the use of the Crown, the Governor refused his assent unless a clause were inserted, exempting the proprietary estates [6] from bearing any share in the necessary tax. The attempts at exempting the vast estates of the proprietors were the cause of continual quarrels between the Assembly and the governors, who, often before obtaining their post, had bound themselves to protect the proprietary interests. Franklin, however, from other sources, succeeded in obtain-

ing the money without needing the Governor's assent, and when General Braddock [7] was sent over with two regiments of English troops, [52] he procured the necessary wagons for him in Pennsylvania, when, without them,[8] his expedition could not have moved. In other ways he aided, eventually advancing of his own money upwards of one thousand pounds sterling. As he saw that Braddock had too much self-confidence, too high an opinion of the value of regular troops, and too mean a one of both Americans and Indians, he took the liberty of venturing to caution him. Braddock replied: [9] "These savages may indeed be a formidable enemy to your raw American militia; but upon the King's regular and disciplined troops, Sir, it is impossible they should make any impression." [10] In a few days, what Franklin had feared took place; the expedition fell into an ambuscade; a majority of the officers and men were killed or wounded. Braddock was brought off the field mortally wounded, and, dying, could only exclaim: "Who would have thought it? Who would have thought it?" [11]

In the emergency that followed this dreadful defeat, more money had to [12] be raised. The Pennsylvania Assembly stood firm on the ground they had taken. They would not permit the Governor to intermeddle with their money bills. They had passed a bill granting fifty thousand pounds, the bill declaring that all estates, real and personal, were to be taxed, those of the proprietaries not excepted. The Governor amended it "for *not* read *only*." [13] In the extremity, the proprietaries in England sent orders to their receiver-general to add five thousand pounds to whatever sum the Assembly might vote, and so, for the moment, the difficulty was avoided.

As Franklin had taken such an effectual part in these movements, the Governor now urged [53] him to undertake military duty, by assuming the defence of the northwestern frontier, and building there a line of forts. He accordingly marched at the head of a body of troops to Gnadenhutten, a place that had been ravaged by the Indians. In his memoirs he gives an amusing account of these, his military operations. He accomplished the duty on which he had been sent, but not conceiving himself well qualified for such operations, he obeyed without reluctance the Governor's call to return to his duties in the Assembly. On reaching Philadelphia, he was chosen colonel of a new regiment that had just been raised. After the first parade, the regiment escorted him to his house, and "would salute me with some rounds fired before my door, which shook down and broke several glasses of my electrical apparatus. And my new honor proved not less brittle; for all our commissions were soon after broken, by a repeal of the law in England." [14]

On one occasion, while his military glories were thus resplendent, the officers of his regiment, in full uniform, with drawn swords, accompanied him some distance on a journey he had to make to Virginia. He had not known anything of their intentions. The matter was reported to the Proprietor, who took great offence. No such honor had been paid to him, nor to any of his governors. He had already been exasperated by Franklin's attempts to have his estates taxed. He accused Franklin to the ministry, instanced the military parade as an evidence of his intention to seize [15] the government of the province, and applied to the Postmaster General to remove him from his office.

Things were in this disturbed condition [54] between the Governor and the Assembly, when the latter resolved to bring the matter to a close, by appealing to the proprietors themselves, or, if that failed, to the King. They appointed Franklin their agent, directing him to go to England to present and support their petition. His instructions were to have an interview with the proprietaries first, present the remonstrance of the Assembly, and endeavor to bring about some amicable arrangement. If that should fail, he was to appeal to the King. In such a dilatory and shiftless manner were public affairs then conducted, that though Franklin hastened to New York, where he was to take the packet boat in the beginning of April, it was not until the end of June that he sailed; the ship was detained, in daily expectation of receiving letters from the commanding general. On approaching the coast of England, they narrowly escaped shipwreck, by running on the rocks. He arrived in London in [16] July, 1757.

He had now another narrow escape, being taken ill with a fever, which confined him to his room for nearly two months. As soon as his health permitted, he had an interview with the proprietaries, but found them so devoted to their own interests, that they would scarcely listen to his representations, and obstructed in every manner they could his access to the higher public authorities. They circulated reports that the Pennsylvanians had been backward in supporting the war; that the Quakers would not bear arms, nor encourage warlike measures; they misrepresented the dissentions between the Assembly and the governors, making it appear as due to the factious spirit of the people against proprietary rights, and the King's prerogative, when, [55] in fact, the whole trouble was owing to their attempt to release their estates from taxation.

To these misrepresentations Franklin replied, with difficulty obtaining the insertion of his letter in the newspapers. A year elapsed; nothing was done; the proprietaries, on one pretence or another, excusing their delays. The government must be appealed to, and for

this the matter must first be brought before the Board of Trade; they must report to the Privy Council, and [17] the decision waited for. If unsatisfactory, an appeal must be made to Parliament.

Weary of waiting, Franklin whiled away the time by travelling about England. He visited the University of Cambridge, went to see the graves of his forefathers, associated with scientific persons, and [18] prepared for presenting the case to Parliament, for this purpose publishing anonymously a work entitled "Historical Review of Pennsylvania." Mr. Pitt [19] had now become Prime Minister. Franklin endeavored to procure an introduction to him, but Pitt was inaccessible. He was then too great a man, or too much occupied in affairs of greater moment. He was to be reached only through his secretaries, who courteously cultivated Franklin's acquaintance, and drew from him information respecting American affairs. He urged upon them the expediency of the conquest of Canada; it was far more politic than operations against the French in Germany, for if Canada were reduced, the power of France in America would be destroyed. There is reason to believe that these opinions had no small influence in determining the military movements in Canada.

Franklin had been [20] in England three years [56] when the case came before the Board of Trade. Its decision was that the proprietary estates should be taxed, but that their unimproved lands should be rated as low as those of the inhabitants, and the Governor should have a voice in the disposal of the money. The proprietaries had to submit; the object for which the Assembly had so long contended was established.

The war now (1760) was coming to an end, and [21] various opinions were entertained as to what should be exacted from France. Some preferred the retention of Guadeloupe. In an anonymous tract entitled "The Interest of Great Britain Considered," [22] Franklin urged the retention of Canada. In a letter to Lord Kames [23] he says: "No one can more sincerely rejoice than I do, on the reduction of Canada; and this is not merely as I am a colonist, but as I am a Briton. I have long been of opinion, that the foundations of the future grandeur and stability of the British Empire lie in America; and though, like other foundations, they are low and little now, they are nevertheless broad and strong enough to support the greatest political structure that human wisdom ever yet erected. I am therefore by no means for restoring Canada. If we keep it, all the country from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi will in another century be filled with British people. Britain itself will become vastly more populous, by the immense increase of its commerce; the Atlantic sea will be covered with your trading ships, and your naval power,

thence continually increasing, will extend your influence round the whole globe, and awe the world! If the French remain in Canada, they will continually harass our colonies [57] by the Indians, and impede if not prevent their growth; your progress to greatness will at best be slow, and give room for many accidents that may for ever prevent it." [24]

Canada was annexed to the British Empire; the design of France to compress the English colonies to a narrow strip on the sea coast was defeated; her military posts extending to the Gulf of Mexico became useless.

He now prepared to return home, the business on which he had been sent having been completed. As the authorized agent of the Assembly, he received the parliamentary grant awarded to Pennsylvania for war expenses, and disposed of that large sum to the entire satisfaction of the Assembly, the proprietaries still perversely annoying him, insisting that they had a right to a voice in the distribution of this money, after it reached Pennsylvania. He sought a little relaxation in a visit to the Continent, and amused himself with the improvement of a musical instrument, the Armonica; its notes were extracted by passing a wetted finger on the edges of a series of revolving glasses. The degree of Doctor of Laws had been conferred on him by the Universities of Oxford and Edinburgh. His son was appointed by the ministry Governor of New Jersey—a tribute of respect to the father. After a residence of more than five years in England, he tore himself with difficulty away from his friends, some of whom used every inducement to tempt him to remain and send for his family. In a letter to Lord Kames he says: "I am now waiting here only for a wind to waft me to America, but cannot leave this happy island and my friends [58] in it, without extreme regret, though I am going to a country and a people that I love. I am going from the old world to the new; and I fancy I feel like those, who are leaving this world for the next; grief at the parting; fear of the passage; hope of the future." [25] He reached Philadelphia in November, and was received with congratulations by his friends. As he had been chosen a member of the Assembly every year during his absence, he resumed his seat. A committee was appointed to examine his accounts, and reported that they were correct. The Assembly also awarded him three thousand pounds sterling, in remuneration of his services while engaged in the public employment. They passed a vote of thanks "for his many services, not only to the Province of Pennsylvania, but to America in general, during his late agency at the Court of Great Britain." [26] [59]

NOTES

1. MS: "lead" cancelled and amended to "leaned."
2. MS: "of."
3. MS: "from" cancelled before "from."
4. Franklin, "Plan for Settling Two Western Colonies in North America," Sparks, 3: 70–71. Draper quotes Franklin loosely and in several places shortens and paraphrases the text.
5. These "quotations" derive from Franklin's pamphlet *The Interest of Great Britain Considered* (London, 1760). The pamphlet is reprinted by Sparks, 4: 1–53, quite probably Draper's source, but at places he paraphrases and alters the text quite liberally.
6. MS: "estate."
7. Edward Braddock (1695–1755).
8. MS: "otherwise" cancelled and amended to "without them."
9. not in MS: "Braddock replied:"
10. Sparks, 1: 190; Draper returns here to quoting Franklin's autobiography.
11. Ibid., p. 192, where Braddock's words are not repeated.
12. MS: "must."
13. Sparks, 1: 196.
14. Ibid., p. 205.
15. MS: "take" cancelled and amended to "seize."
16. not in MS: "in."
17. MS: "upon it" cancelled before "and."
18. not in MS: "and."
19. William Pitt (1708–1778).
20. MS: "now" cancelled before "been."
21. not in MS: "and."
22. A redundancy, as Draper had already dealt with arguments from the pamphlet.
23. Henry Home, Lord Kames (1696–1782).
24. Franklin to Lord Kames, January 3, 1760, Sparks, 8: 188–89.
25. Franklin to Lord Kames, August 17, 1762, ibid., pp. 240–41.
26. Sparks, 1: 270. Draper is now depending on Sparks' own continuation of Franklin's autobiography.

VI

In the peace that had been made between England and France, the American Indians had neither been consulted nor cared for. They therefore continued the war. They made forays into the white settlements, killing the people, burning their houses, and [1] carrying off their goods.

This brought retaliation. There was a tribe of Indians, numbering about twenty souls, under an aged chief who had formerly aided in making the treaty with Penn. This little band maintained among the white people about [2] them a [3] blameless and inoffensive life. Their village was surrounded by a troop of men from the frontier, who massacred in cold blood every one they could find, and murdered the old chief in his bed. In vain, the Governor issued a proclamation for the arrest of the criminals. Another troop, in defiance, marched to Lancaster, broke open the workhouse in which several Indians had been placed for safety, and murdered every one of them. Franklin not only called public indignation to this atrocity in a "Narrative of the late Massacres in Lancaster County," but, at the request of the Governor, formed a military association. About one hundred and forty Christian Indians had fled for protection to Philadelphia, and were placed for security in the barracks. On these the rioters marched, with the intention of murdering [60] them all. Franklin, with three other persons, was deputed to meet them; and, partly by his persuasion, but mainly by the military preparation that had been made, they were diverted from their atrocious purpose.

The massacre of the Christian Indians had no effect in stopping the excursions of the savage ones. It became clear that there must be a campaign against them, and, for that purpose, men and money must be raised. John Penn,[4] a connexion of the proprietary family, had been sent out as Governor. He recommended that a militia law should be passed. Accordingly, such a bill was reported, but the Governor refused to give his assent to it, claiming that he alone should appoint the officers, increasing the amount of fines, requiring all

trials to be by court-martial, and making some offences punishable by death.

Of course, this was not for a moment to be listened to. It was to throw the whole military powers of the state into the proprietary hands. But this was not all; a tax must be laid. An attempt was made, if not to exempt the proprietary lands, at least to diminish their assessment. The old quarrel broke out again. The Assembly was determined that the proprietary lands should be taxed according to the decision of the Privy Council; the proprietors were determined that all their lands, however good their quality, should be assessed as low as the worst and least valuable lands of the people. Pressed by the continual forays of the savages, the Assembly was compelled to submit to the Governor's terms.

It was plain that there could be no end to the difficulty, except by a change in the government. [61] [5] An attempt was made to authorize a petition to the King, praying him to take the government into his own hands. Against this the proprietaries exerted their utmost influence. The speaker of the Assembly resigned his seat. Franklin, who had drafted the petition, was chosen in his place, and the petition was passed.

Some, however, feared that if the King assumed the government, he might withdraw the charter, by which were secured the rights and privileges of the people, or otherwise restrain their freedom. That this consideration had weight was shewn by the fact that Franklin lost his election to the Assembly, though only by twenty-five votes in four thousand. In the new Assembly there was a great majority in favor of carrying out the policy of its predecessor. Franklin was appointed special agent to the Court of Great Britain, to take charge of the petition for the change of government, and to manage the general affairs of the province.

Franklin in the Assembly was dangerous enough to the proprietaries, but sent to London as the agent of the province, he was far more so. Even some of his friends were afraid that he might resort to hazardous measures; every attempt was made to defeat his appointment. One said: "The gentleman proposed, has been called here to-day 'a great luminary of the learned world.' Far be it from me to detract from the merit I admire. Let him still shine, but without wrapping his country in flames. Let him, from a private station, from a smaller sphere, diffuse, as I think he may, a beneficial light; but let him not be made to move and blaze like a comet to terrify and distress." [6] A [62] remonstrance against his appointment was presented to the Assembly, and, this failing, was followed by a protest. It was urged against him that he had initiated the late movement for a change of government, by transferring it to the King; that he

was not in favor with the ministers; an enemy of the proprietaries; and was disliked by a large number of the people of the province.

Twelve days after his appointment, Franklin left Philadelphia, escorted by three hundred citizens, to Chester, where he sailed (November, 1764). He had a stormy voyage of thirty days, but reached London safely, and went back to his old abode on Craven Street.

He had now two important duties to attend to—first, the petition for the transference of the government of the province from the proprietaries to the King, and second, to prevent, if possible, the passage of the Stamp Act; for the government, after the peace of Paris, had contemplated the raising of revenue from the colonies in that way. Pennsylvania had already set herself in opposition to the scheme.

Of these two duties, the second soon proved to be by far the most important.[63]

NOTES

1. not in MS: "and."
2. MS: "around" cancelled and amended to "about."
3. MS: "the" cancelled before "a."
4. John Penn (1729–1795).
5. A MS flap is attached to MS p. 61 for revision: "Penn says Pennsylvania cost him £30,000 more than he ever got by it."
6. The speaker was John Dickinson, quoted by Sparks, 1: 61.

VII

The American colonies were unanimous in their opposition to the new measure of taxation. Franklin himself, in a letter subsequently written from France, gives us this statement of its origin: "In the pamphlet you were so kind as to lend me, there is one important fact misstated, apparently from the writer's not having been furnished with good information; it is the transaction between Mr. Grenville [1] and the colonies, wherein he understands, that Mr. Grenville demands of them a specific sum, that they refused to grant any thing, and that it was on their refusal only, that he made the motion for the Stamp Act. No one of these particulars is true. The fact was this.

"Some time in the winter of 1763-4, Mr. Grenville called together the agents of the several colonies, and told them, that he proposed to draw a revenue from America, and to that end his intention was to levy a stamp duty on the colonies by Act of Parliament in the ensuing session, of which he thought it fit that they should be immediately acquainted, that they might have time to consider, and if any other duty equally productive would be more agreeable to them, they might let him know it. The agents were therefore directed to write this to their respective Assemblies, and communicate to him the answers they should receive; the agents wrote accordingly.

"I was a member of the Assembly of Pennsylvania [64] when this notification came to hand. The observations there made upon it were, that the ancient, established, and regular method of drawing aids from the colonies was this. The occasion was always first considered by their sovereign in his privy council, by whose sage advice he directed his secretary of state to write circular letters to the several governors, who were directed to lay them before their Assemblies. In those letters the occasion was explained for their satisfaction, with gracious expressions of his Majesty's confidence in their known duty and affection, on which he relied, that they would grant such sums as should be suitable to their abilities, loyalty, and zeal for his serv-

ice. That the colonies had always granted liberally on such occasions, and so liberally during the late war, that the King, sensible that they had granted much more than their proportion, had recommended it to Parliament, five years successively, to make them some compensation, and the Parliament accordingly returned them two hundred thousand pounds a year, to be divided among them. That the proposition of taxing them in Parliament was therefore both cruel and unjust. That, by the constitution of the colonies, their business was with the King, in matters of aid; they had nothing to do with any financier, nor he with them; nor were the agents the proper channels through which requisitions should be made; it was therefore improper for them to enter into any stipulation, or make any proposition, to Mr. Grenville about laying taxes on their constituents by Parliament, which had really no right at all to tax them, especially as the notice he had sent them did not appear to be by the King's order, and perhaps was without his knowledge; as the King, when he [65] would obtain any thing from them, always accompanied his requisition with good words; but this gentleman, instead of a decent demand, sent them a menace, that they should certainly be taxed, and only left them the choice of the manner. But, all this notwithstanding, they were so far from refusing to grant money, that they resolved to the following purpose; 'That, as they always had, so they always should think it their duty to grant aid to the crown, according to their abilities, whenever required of them in the usual constitutional manner.'

"I went soon after to England, and took with me an authentic copy of this resolution, which I presented to Mr. Grenville before he brought in the Stamp Act. I asserted in the House of Commons (Mr. Grenville being present), that I had done so, and he did not deny it. Other colonies made similar resolutions. And, had Mr. Grenville, instead of that act, applied to the King in Council for such requisitional letters to be circulated by the secretary of state, I am sure he would have obtained more money from the colonies by their voluntary grants, than he himself expected from his stamps. But he chose compulsion rather than persuasion, and would not receive from their good will what he thought he could obtain without it. And thus the golden bridge, which the ingenious author thinks the Americans unwisely and unbecomingly refused to hold out to the minister and Parliament, was actually held out to them, but they refused to walk over it. This is the true history of that transaction." [2]

"No taxation unless there be representation." Such now became the motto of the colonies. No one shall be taxed, except by himself, or by [66] his duly authorized representatives; this [3] was the right of

every Englishman. But, in spite of all remonstrances, the Stamp Act was passed. England was committed to the greatest of all conflicts in which she had ever been engaged. The Americans considered themselves as Englishmen, and were [4] no more disposed to submit to such lawless, such arbitrary proceedings, than their ancestors had been, more than a century previously, under the leadership of John Hampden,[5] to submit to the impost of ship-money.

"Depend upon it," wrote Franklin, "I took every step in my power to prevent the passing of the Stamp Act. Nobody could be more concerned and interested than myself to oppose it sincerely and heartily. But the tide was too strong against us. The nation was provoked by American claims of independence, and all parties joined by resolving in this Act to settle the [6] point. We might as well have hindered the sun's setting. That we could not do. But since it is down, and it may be long before it rises again, let us make as good a night of it as we can. We may still light candles. Frugality and industry will go a great way towards indemnifying us. Idleness and pride tax with a heavier hand than kings and parliaments. If we can get rid of the former, we may easily get rid of the latter." [7]

A rumor was industriously circulated that Franklin was so untrue to the interests of his country, so selfish in his objects, that he had endeavored to have himself appointed stamp distributor in America. He had never contemplated any such thing, but that Mr. Grenville, after the passage of the Stamp Act, called the agents of the colonies together and directed them to name a distributor, each in his respective colony. [67] They all, accordingly, did so, and Franklin named one for Pennsylvania. But, in thus complying with the minister's directions, none of them supposed that they were to be regarded as approving of, or assenting to, the Stamp Act. It was not for them to commence opposition or hostilities without being instructed by their authorities at home. They could do nothing else but comply.

When news of the passage of the Stamp Act reached America, the first attempt was to have it repealed. The persons who had been appointed stamp distributors were compelled to resign; persons who had shewn opposition to the popular will were burned in effigy; there were riots and assaults. The paper had to be kept on board the war-ships; the people would not suffer it to be landed.

Meantime, a change in the English ministry had taken place; the Marquis of Rockingham [8] had succeeded Mr. Grenville. Hitherto the many petitions that had been sent from America had been treated with neglect or disdain. Now, it became plain that something must be done. The ministry was satisfied that the act must be repealed, if only it could be done with honor. Franklin was called before the House of Commons, and publicly questioned by many of

the members. His answers were modest, appropriate, and [9] fearless. He managed to combine decorum with inflexible resolution. "Will the Americans pay this duty if it be moderated?" "No, never, unless compelled by force of arms." "Will they rescind their resolutions if the Stamp Act be repealed?" "No, never; they will never do it unless compelled by force of arms." [10]

The Stamp Act was repealed, but to save the [68] dignity of Parliament, there was passed a Declaratory Act, that Parliament had a right to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever. Whatever good had been done by the repeal of the Stamp Act, was by this act undone. Parliament seems to have supposed that it was the payment of money the Americans were resisting. Now, they found that the conflict was not about payment, but the principle involved. The Declaratory Act gave tenfold offence. Since Americans had no representation in Parliament, it was the assumption of a tyrannical power to deal with her at pleasure.

Though the obnoxious Stamp Act was repealed, Parliament was very far from having abandoned its principles. There was a project for drawing a revenue from colonial paper money, and this was followed by a proposal to obtain an American revenue by duties on tea, glass, etc.[11] The paper money of the colonies was to be made in London, and deposited in loan offices in America, from which it was to be issued on interest. This interest was to be paid into the British treasury. And thus, a tax was to be laid on the colonies, and the control over their currency taken away. On this Franklin says: "The plan of our adversaries is, to render Assemblies in America useless, and to have a revenue, independent of their grants, for all the purposes of defence, and supporting governments among them. It is our interest to prevent this." [12] Discussions now began to arise, respecting the political relations of the two countries, and how far the present difficulties could be overcome by admitting representatives from the colonies into Parliament. Franklin, at first, regarded this as the only basis of a union which could be expected to endure. Afterwards, he looked upon it more coldly: "The time has been, when the colo[69]nies might have been pleased with it; they are now indifferent about it; and, if it is much longer delayed, they will refuse it. But the pride of this people cannot bear the thought of it, and therefore it will be delayed. Every man in England seems to consider himself as a piece of a sovereign over America; seems to jostle himself into the throne with the King, and talks of our subjects in the colonies. The Parliament cannot well and wisely make laws suited to the colonies, without being properly and truly informed of their circumstances, abilities, temper, &c. This it cannot be without representatives from thence; and yet it is fond of this power, and averse

to the only means of acquiring the necessary knowledge for exercising it; which is desiring to be omnipotent, without being omniscient." [13]

In the summer of 1766, Franklin had made a short visit to Germany; in 1767, he visited France. Already, under the guise of homage to his scientific discoveries, France shewed a readiness to come to a good understanding with the discontented colonies; perhaps she was not unwilling to requite herself for the loss of Canada. Franklin received letters of introduction from the French ambassador in London, to many persons of distinction in Paris. He was also introduced to the King, and royal family, and was everywhere received in a manner very gratifying to him personally. It was generally recognized, that in regard to American affairs, he was the most influential man.

On his return to London, he heard of the troubles that had taken place in Boston, and of the measures that had been taken for the disuse of English goods, and the encouragement of American manufactures; [70] thereupon, he published a newspaper article entitled "Causes of the American Discontents before 1768." There had been a change in the ministry. American affairs had been transferred from Lord Shelburne [14] to Lord Hillsborough.[15] He at first manifested so friendly a feeling to Franklin, that a report was spread abroad that Franklin was to have an appointment in his department. On this, Franklin remarks: "I am told there has been a talk of getting me appointed under-secretary to Lord Hillsborough; but with little likelihood, as it is a settled point here, that I am too much of an American." [16] It appears to have been thought that the best way of managing, or of neutralizing him, was to give him some post under government. But he saw further into the future than his antagonists. He says: "If Mr. Grenville comes into power again, in any department respecting America, I must refuse to accept any thing that may seem to put me in his power, because I apprehend a breach between the two countries." [17] Distorted statements of these transactions were carried to America, and there spread [18] abroad, to his detriment. He was accused of not being unwilling to betray his country, and of gratifying a base ambition, by seeking English political promotion. At home, it was said that if the government of the province should pass from the proprietaries to the King, his Majesty would appoint him Governor. But Franklin had too clear a foresight of what was coming; he rejected, with disdain, the alleged allurements, even before they had taken any definite form, patiently waiting for what he now saw was inevitable, the attempt to assert the political independence of his country. [71]

Feeling that there was little hope of effecting a change in the gov-

ernment of Pennsylvania, by transference from the proprietaries to the King, Franklin would now (1768) have returned home, and had made arrangements so to do, when he received an appointment from the Governor of Georgia, to act as agent for that province. He therefore deferred his voyage. In his letters, he constantly urged upon his friends, the necessity of adhering to their resolution not to import British goods. Some merchants in Philadelphia had sent to him a copy of their non-importation agreements, with a request that he would communicate them to the British merchants in the American trade. He answered them: "By persisting steadily in the measures you have so laudably entered into, I hope you will, if backed by the general honest resolution of the people to buy British goods of no others, but to manufacture for themselves, or use colony manufactures only, be the means, under God, of recovering and establishing the freedom of our country entire, and of handing it down complete to posterity." [19] In addition to his other agencies, he was now appointed by the Assembly of New Jersey, agent for that colony.

In 1770, the ministry, finding that they could not coerce the Americans in the matter of non-importation, caused a repeal of all the duties laid by the Revenue Act, except that on tea. This was retained, not because of its value, but for the purpose of vindicating the honor of Parliament. The same mistake was again made, that had been made before; that the resistance of America was rather due to the amount of money to be derived from the duty, than from the principle involved. [72] It seemed impossible to make people in England understand that the colonists were animated by any idea than that of avoiding [20] the payment of money.

Some letters he had written to friends in America, falling into the hands of the minister, gave great offence. It was intended to remove him from his place in the Post Office as a punishment. "As to the letters complained of," he said, "I did write them, and they were written in compliance with another duty, that to my country; a duty quite distinct from that of postmaster. My conduct in this respect was exactly similar to that I held on a similar occasion but a few years ago, when the then ministry were ready [21] to hug me for the assistance I afforded them in repealing a former revenue act. My sentiments were still the same, that no such acts should be made here for America; or, if made, should as soon as possible be repealed; and I thought it should not be expected of me to change my political opinions every time his Majesty thought fit to change his ministers. This was my language on that occasion; and I have lately heard, that, though I was thought much to blame, it being understood, that every man who holds an office should act with the ministry, whether agreeable or not to his own judgment, yet, in con-

sideration of the goodness of my private character (as they were pleased to compliment me), the office was not to be taken from me. Possibly they may still change their minds, and remove me; but no apprehension of that sort will, I trust, make the least alteration in my political conduct. My rule, in which I have always found satisfaction, is, never to turn aside in public affairs through views of private interest; but to go straight forward [73] in doing what appears to me right at the time, leaving the consequences with Providence." [22]

In addition to his other duties, he was chosen agent for the Assembly of Massachusetts. When he waited on Lord Hillsborough to announce this, his Lordship received him with reluctance, and even declined to look at the papers he had brought, insisting [23] that such appointments must be made by act of the Assembly,[24] approved [25] by the Governor. The interview was conducted not without acerbity, Franklin saying that it was for the agent [26] to transact the business of the people, not that of the Governor. After a sharp discussion, in which he thought the Assembly of Massachusetts was insulted, he told his Lordship that he "believed it was of little consequence whether the appointment was acknowledged or not, for it was clear to his mind, that, as affairs were now administered, an agent could be of no use to any of the colonies." [27] He foresaw very clearly what subsequently happened; that there must be a separation. Worn out with fruitless exertions, and seeing no prospect of a change, or indeed of attention to his applications, he once more prepared to return home. In a letter to his son, he said: "I have of late great debates with myself whether or not I shall continue here any longer. I grow homesick, and being now in my sixty-seventh year, I begin to apprehend some infirmity of age may attack me, and make my return impracticable. I have, also, some important affairs to settle before my death, an event I ought to think not now far distant. I see here no disposition in Parliament to meddle further in colony affairs for the present, either to lay more duties or to repeal any; [74] and I think, though I were to return again, I may be absent from here a year without any prejudice to the business I am engaged in, though it is not probable, that, being once at home, I should ever again see England. I have indeed so many good, kind friends here, that I could spend the remainder of my life among them with great pleasure, if it were not for my American connexions, and the indelible affection I retain for that dear country, from which I have so long been in a state of exile." [28] The importunity of his friends, and [29] the solicitude of the American assemblies, obliged him to delay. He sought a passing relief by journeying through Scotland and Ireland, and the resignation of Lord Hillsborough reconciled him to remain a little longer.

That resignation was brought about in this manner. There was a company, partly of English and partly of Americans, who projected the settlement of a colony beyond the Allegheny[30] Mountains, and petitioned the Crown for a grant of land. To this, Lord Hillsborough was opposed. He had a report from the Board of Trade, of which he was the head, sent to the Council. To this report Franklin made a reply, which was presented to the Council. It produced a decision adverse to the side of the Board of Trade.

Lord Hillsborough's intention was to restrict emigrations to the eastern slope of the Alleghenies, so as to keep them within the military reach of Great Britain. His views not proving acceptable to the Council, he took offence and resigned. Owing to the occurrence of the Revolution, the plan was, however, not carried out.

Lord Dartmouth[31] was Lord Hillsborough's successor. His appointment, which Franklin had [75] aided in procuring, was at first very acceptable to the colonies. They remembered that he had opposed the Stamp Act. He recognized the agents of the Assemblies, though their election might not have been approved by the Governor.[32]

The salary of Hutchinson,[33] the Governor of Massachusetts, had recently been paid by the Crown. This the Assembly of that province regarded as a violation of their rights, an alarming precedent, fruitful of abuses. It was the[34] prerogative of the Assembly, not of the King—a precaution designed to prevent the undue influence of the Crown over the officers of the province. As the thing had never been done before, the Assembly of Massachusetts regarded it as a dangerous innovation, and petitioned the King for redress. Franklin presented the petition to Lord Dartmouth, who advised against presenting it for the present, and gave his reasons for that advice. Franklin,[35] in reply, said "that his Lordship might observe, that petitions came no more to Parliament, but to the King only; that the King appeared now to be the only connexion between the two countries; that, as a continued union was necessary to the well being of the whole empire, he should be sorry to see that link weakened as the other had been; and that he thought it a dangerous thing for any government to refuse receiving petitions, and thereby prevent the subjects from giving vent to their griefs."[36] On this, Lord Dartmouth told him that "it must not for a moment be supposed that he was refusing to present the petition; far from it, for if Dr. Franklin wished, he would discharge his duty, and present it to the King; his advice was given from the purest good will, and a desire for promoting harmony between the two countries."[37] Franklin thought it [76] best to accept his advice, and write to America for further instructions.

In the meantime, it was discovered in Boston [38] that the salaries of the judges, as well as that of the Governor, were to be paid by the Crown. As the Assembly had adjourned, the people, perceiving what was meant by this, and what would be the certain consequence, assembled in town meeting and not only strongly remonstrated against the proceeding, but also added an enumeration of the acts of the British government hostile to American liberty. A copy of these resolutions was sent to every town in the province, and the inhabitants urged to assemble in town meetings, and express their indignation.

The Governor at once set himself in opposition. He charged what had been done to the machinations of Franklin, bent on making a breach in the empire, who [39] had the pamphlet containing the resolutions and votes of the town of Boston published in London, with a preface written by himself. In this, he laid the blame on the government, which was driving the people to extremities, by refusing to remove their grievances, or listen to their petitions. When the Massachusetts Assembly met, it prepared another petition to be presented to the King. This Franklin requested Lord Dartmouth to deliver to his Majesty without delay.

Franklin was now agent for four colonies.[40] It was not possible that he should have forgotten the idea of union, presented by him so forcibly nearly twenty years previously at the Albany meeting, and seeing in it a remedy—the only remedy—for the increasing trouble. In a letter to the Massa[77]chusetts Assembly he says: "As the strength of an empire depends not only on the union of its parts, but on their readiness for united exertion of their common force; and as the discussion of rights may seem unseasonable in the commencement of actual war, and the delay it might occasion be prejudicial to the common welfare; as likewise the refusal of one or a few colonies would not be so much regarded, if the others granted liberally, which perhaps by various artifices and motions they might be prevailed on to do; and as this want of concert would defeat the expectation of general redress, that otherwise might be justly formed; perhaps it would be best and fairest for the colonies, in a general congress now in peace to be assembled, or by means of the correspondence lately proposed, after a full and solemn assertion and declaration of their rights, to engage firmly with each other, that they will never grant aids to the crown in any general war, till those rights are recognized by the King and both Houses of Parliament; communicating at the same time to the crown this their resolution. Such a step I imagine will bring the dispute to a crisis." [41] That Franklin had now committed himself to a partition of the Empire,

and seeking the independence of America, was shown by his publication entitled "Rules for Reducing a Great Empire to a Small One."

About the close of 1772, Franklin had sent to Massachusetts some original letters written by Governor Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor Oliver,[42] and others to Mr. Whately,[43] the under-secretary of one of the ministers. These letters suggested that the insurgent spirit of the colonies would be subdued, if the measures of [78] coercion were persisted in, and a military force sent over. Of course, they were to be regarded as confidential, and the manner in which they had fallen into Franklin's possession was not stated. He says: "For my own part, I cannot but acknowledge, that my resentment against this country, for its arbitrary measures in governing us, conducted by the late minister, has, since my conviction by these papers that those measures were projected, advised, and called for by men of character among ourselves, and whose advice must therefore be attended with all the weight that was proper to mislead, and what could therefore scarce fail of misleading—my own resentment, I say, has by this means been exceedingly abated. I think they must have the same effect with you." As to the writers of these letters, he says: "When I find them [44] bartering away their native countries for posts, and negociating for salaries and pensions extorted from the people; and, conscious of the odium these might be attended with, calling for troops to protect and secure the enjoyment of them—I cannot but deem them mere time-servers, seeking their own private emolument, through any quantity of public mischief; betrayers of the interest, not of their native country only, but of the government they pretend to serve, and of the whole English empire." [45]

These letters were submitted to the Assembly, sitting with closed doors. They voted, by a very large majority, that the design and tendency of them were to subvert the Constitution, and introduce arbitrary power. They also voted a petition to the King, praying his Majesty to remove Governor Hutchinson and Lieutenant [46] Governor Oliver. This petition was submitted by Franklin to Lord Dartmouth, and by him presented to the [79] King. In some manner, the letters became public. There had been a breach of confidence somewhere. Mr. Whately, to whom they were addressed, was dead; his brother, Mr. William Whately,[47] had permitted Mr. Temple [48] to have access to these papers. Suspicion fell upon Mr. Temple, of having abstracted them; a duel ensued, in which Mr. Whately was wounded. Had Franklin known that this duel was intended, he would have hastened to make it known [49] that the letters were not in the possession of Mr. Whately at the time supposed, and therefore, it was impossible that Mr. Temple could have abstracted them.

As it was, he encountered much social odium, and Mr. Whately commenced a lawsuit against him. Under these adverse circumstances, the petition to the King was brought before the Privy Council. Franklin appeared before it, was treated harshly, and the decision of the Council was "that the petition was founded upon resolutions formed upon false and erroneous allegations, and that the same was groundless, vexatious, and scandalous, and calculated only for the seditious purpose of keeping up a spirit of clamor and discontent in the provinces." [50] The King approved of the report, and the petition was dismissed. Franklin was made to feel how deeply he had offended. He received a notification of his dismissal from his place in the Post Office. "My situation here," he said, "is thought by many to be a little hazardous; for if, by some accident, the troops and people of New England should come to blows, I should probably be taken up; the ministerial people affecting every where to represent me as the cause of all the misunderstanding; and I have been frequently cautioned to secure [51] my papers, and by some [80] advised to withdraw." [52]

Affairs in America had now so much advanced, that a Continental Congress was about to assemble, and Franklin concluded to postpone his voyage a little. Something might arise, in which he could be of service. Meantime, a great calamity overtook him in the death of his wife. They had been married forty-four years; their union had been one of unalloyed happiness. They were now looking forward joyfully to his expected return to America, after an absence of ten years. She died after an illness of five days.

In December, 1774, the first action of the Continental Congress reached London, in the form of a petition to the King, and a letter from the President of the Congress, to all the colonial agents, requesting them to present the petition. Three only did this, the others declining on the ground [53] that they had no instructions. Lord Dartmouth presented it to the King, who laid it before the Houses. But the government had not yet risen to [54] an appreciation of the great emergency before it. In the King's speech, no notice was taken of it. It was sent down with a mass of letters and papers. The agents requested to be heard at the bar of the House in its support, but were refused. It was finally rejected by an overwhelming majority, the "pretended grievances" of the Americans treated with contempt, and threats to make them obedient by military coercion.

This was treatment that would not have been borne in England; "Coelum non animum mutant qui trans mare current." It was plain that a rupture was becoming inevitable. Yet, in [81] England, there were some who did their utmost to prevent the coming catastrophe. Among these was Lord Chatham.[55] He had an interview with

Franklin, expressed his sympathy in the American cause, made himself acquainted with the complaints of the colonists and the relief they sought, endeavored to ascertain how far they were seeking for independence, and was assured by Franklin, who had travelled all over the Continent, that he had never heard a hint of the kind. This, however, was years previously. Now the attitude of the government toward them had produced a change.

Lord Howe [56] was another of these mediators. His sister [57] procured an interview with Franklin, on the excuse of a game of chess. His Lordship sought to obtain from Franklin some definite plan, that might serve as a basis of reconciliation. In a second interview, not having had time to complete the proposed plan, he made the proper excuses, when Lord Howe drew out a paper, which proved to be a copy of one written some little time previously, at the solicitation of Dr. Fothergill [58] and [59] Mr. Barclay.[60] The terms it hinted at he thought too unacceptable, and, at his solicitation, Franklin consented to reconsider them, stating, however, that he [61] did not believe he could amend them.

Lord Chatham sent him word that he was about to offer a motion on American affairs in the House of Lords, and requested his attendance. At the time appointed, Franklin repaired to the lobby of the House, and met his Lordship, who said, as Franklin relates in his account of the incident, " 'I am sure you being present at this day's debate will be of more service than mine [82] to America'; and so taking me by the arm was leading me along the passage to the door that enters near the throne, when one of the door-keepers followed, and acquainted him, that, by the order, none were to be carried in at that door but the eldest sons or brothers of peers; on which he limped back with me to the door near the bar, where were standing a number of gentlemen, waiting for the peers who were to introduce them, among whom he delivered me to the door-keepers, saying aloud, 'This is Dr. Franklin, whom I would have admitted into the House'; and they readily opened the door for me accordingly." [62] Lord Chatham's motion was to the effect that the troops should be withdrawn from Boston. He stated that this was introductory to a general plan of reconciliation, which he proposed to lay before Parliament. The motion was, however, lost by a large majority. Several interviews were held [63] between his Lordship and Franklin for consultation on a plan the former had devised. This was submitted to the House of Lords, February [64] 1st, 1775. Franklin was admitted to the bar of the House.

An energetic debate ensued; the plan was vehemently assailed. Lord Sandwich,[65] in a very violent speech, said he could not believe that the bill proceeded from a British [66] peer; it was probably the

work of some American, and turning toward Franklin, said he fancied "he had in his eye the person who drew it up, one of the bitterest and most mischievous enemies this country had ever known." [67] Chatham, in answer, declared that the work was entirely his own, and referred to Franklin in terms of the highest [83] commendation: "all Europe holds him in high estimation for his knowledge and wisdom; he ranks with our Boyles and Newtons; and is an honor not to the English nation only but to human nature!" [68] Lord Chatham's plan was, however, rejected; it was not allowed to lie on the table.

The friends of America in England were still reluctant to cease their exertions. One or two other plans were proposed. They met with discouragement from Franklin, who said that they contained conditions which his countrymen could never accept. He found that, in reality, the intention of some of those who were professing friendship for America, was to be sent over as commissioners. He himself had come to the conclusion that all these indirect propositions were fruitless, and that the negociation must be carried on, to be effectual, by the direct action of the ministry.

Such were his sentiments when he left England for the last time. He sailed March 21st, 1775, and reached Philadelphia on the 5th of May. After ten years of unwearied exertion, he had failed in the object for which he had been sent, but he had succeeded in a far greater one. There can be no doubt that his visit to France had borne fruit. In his contact with the leading men of that country,[69] he had gathered assurance [70] that if the discontent of the colonies should lead to war, she [71] would not forget the indignities she had received at the peace of Paris, in the loss of Canada, and that if a struggle with the mother country should come, the purse and the sword of France would be thrown into the American scale. [84]

NOTES

1. George Grenville (1712–1770).

2. Franklin to William Alexander, March 12, 1778, Sparks, 1: 291–93. The letter is quoted almost verbatim.

3. not in MS: "this."

4. MS: "we."

5. John Hampden (1594–1643).

6. MS: "this" cancelled and amended to "the."

7. Franklin to Charles Thomson, July 11, 1765, Sparks, 1: 294. Draper deletes several clauses expressing friendship to Thomson.

8. Charles Watson-Wentworth, marquis of Rockingham (1730–1782).

9. not in MS: "and."

10. Since Draper was following Sparks' continuation of Franklin's autobiography closely at this point, his source for the interrogation of Franklin is evidently Sparks, 1: 299, but the questions are stated in a different manner there.

11. MS: "&c."
12. Sparks, 1: 305.
13. Franklin to Lord Kames, April 11, 1767, Sparks, 7: 329; it is also quoted by Sparks, 1: 309. See Franklin, *Papers,* 14: 62, for its probable earlier date.
14. William Petty, earl of Shelburne (1737–1805).
15. Wills Hill, earl of Hillsborough (1718–1793).
16. Draper's source is the quotation of the sentence by Sparks, 1: 313.
17. Similarly, the source is the sentence quoted by Sparks, 1: 314.
18. MS: "spread" cancelled before "spread."
19. Franklin to the Committee of Merchants in Philadelphia, July 9, 1769, Sparks, 1: 322–23.
20. MS: "money" cancelled before "avoiding."
21. MS: "then" cancelled before "ready."
22. Draper's source is the quotation by Sparks, 1: 326–27.
23. MS: "He" cancelled before "insisting."
24. MS: "legislative" cancelled and amended to "Assembly."
25. MS: "and" cancelled before "approved."
26. MS: "business" cancelled before "agent."
27. Sparks, 1: 330.
28. Franklin to William Franklin, January 30, 1772, Sparks, 7: 567–68, also 1: 337–38. Draper "improves" the passage "a period I ought now to think cannot be far distant" to "an event I ought to think not now far distant."
29. not in MS: "and."
30. MS: "Allegany."
31. William Legge, earl of Dartmouth (1731–1801).
32. Draper does not finish the sentence, which ends in the MS "though their election might not have been." The words "approved by the Governor" have been added as his probable meaning.
33. Thomas Hutchinson (1711–1780).
34. MS: "was" cancelled before "the."
35. MS: "Franklin" cancelled before "Franklin."
36. Sparks, 1: 347.
37. Draper's quotation is paraphrased from Sparks, 1: 346–47.
38. MS: "Massachusetts" cancelled and amended to "Boston."
39. MS: "He" cancelled and amended to "who."
40. MS: "provinces" cancelled and amended to "colonies."
41. Franklin to Thomas Cushing, July 7, 1773, Sparks, 1: 350–51.
42. Andrew Oliver (1706–1774).
43. Thomas Whately (d. 1772).
44. MS: "their."
45. Draper's quotations are pieced together from Sparks, 1: 357–59.
46. MS: "Lieut."
47. William Whately.
48. John Temple (1732–1798).
49. MS: "the publication" cancelled and amended to "to make it known."
50. Sparks, 1: 369.
51. MS: "remove" cancelled before "secure."
52. Draper's source is Sparks, 1: 371.
53. MS: heavily cancelled word amended to "ground."
54. MS: "to the" cancelled before "to."
55. William Pitt (1708–1778), now Lord Chatham.
56. Richard, Lord Howe (1726–1799).
57. MS: "Lady" cancelled and amended to "sister."
58. John Fothergill (1712–1780).

59. MS: "&."
60. David Barclay (1729–1809).
61. MS: "he" repeated.
62. Sparks, 1: 385–86. Draper somewhat shortens the quotation.
63. not in MS: "were held."
64. MS: "Feb."
65. John Montagu, earl of Sandwich (1718–1792).
66. MS: heavily cancelled word before "British."
67. Sparks, 1: 387.
68. Ibid., p. 388. Draper paraphrases Sparks' quotation.
69. MS: "France" cancelled and amended to "that country."
70. MS: "the" cancelled before "assurance."
71. MS: "France" cancelled and amended to "she."

VIII

Five days after the arrival of Franklin in Philadelphia, the Second Continental Congress assembled in that city. To this he had been elected a delegate by the Assembly of Pennsylvania. War had now actually begun, by the conflict of Lexington and Concord.

Congress declared that hostilities had already commenced by the act of Great Britain, with the design of enforcing the unconstitutional and oppressive acts of Parliament, and resolved that the colonies should be put in a state of defence. But, as a concession to the moderate party, among whom there were many wealthy men, it consented once more to address a petition to the King. Franklin was not averse to the measure. He thought it might give satisfaction to those estimable persons, but he [1] had no expectation that it would have any influence whatever on the English government.

He was made, by the Assembly of Pennsylvania, chairman of the Committee of Safety. This committee was authorized to call into service the militia, to pay and furnish them with supplies, and provide for the defence of the province; to sink obstructions in the river, and to erect fortifications. A plan of confederation was presented by Franklin to Congress. The Post Office was [2] re-established; he was made Postmaster General, with a salary of one thousand dollars a year. Congress placed him at the head of the commission for Indian [85] affairs in the middle department, and on the "Secret Committee," the duty of which was to procure munitions of war, and to distribute them to the troops and ships. He was sent with two other commissioners to the camp at Boston, to arrange with General Washington [3] in the organizing and recruiting a new army, the enlistment of the soldiers of the present one expiring at the end of the year. While absent on this duty, he was chosen a representative for the city of Philadelphia to the Assembly. He was sent by Congress as one of the commissioners to Canada, to induce the Canadians to join the other colonies, and to send delegates to Congress. This, however, proved unsuccessful.

The legislature of Virginia instructed its delegates to propose to Congress a Declaration of Independence of the United States. A committee was appointed to do this. It consisted of Jefferson,[4] Adams,[5] Franklin, Sherman,[6] and Livingston.[7] The [8] declaration was drafted by Jefferson, was debated three days, and passed on the 4th of July, 1776.

General Howe [9] and Lord Howe had arrived at New York, at the head of an English army and fleet. They had also been appointed commissioners to effect an adjustment, if possible, offering pardon to all who would submit. They opened a communication with General Washington, who transmitted their despatch to Congress. Lord Howe also wrote a letter to Franklin, who answered it in the same spirit, but without giving any hope. Among other things he said: "Long did I endeavor, with unfeigned and unwearied zeal, to preserve from breaking that fine and noble China vase, the British empire; for I knew, that, being once broken, the separate parts could not retain [86] even their share of the strength or value that existed in the whole, and that a perfect reunion of those parts could scarce ever be hoped for. Your Lordship may possibly remember the tears of joy that wet my cheek, when, at your good sister's in London, you once gave me expectations that a reconciliation might soon take place. I had the misfortune to find those expectations disappointed, and to be treated as the cause of the mischief I was laboring to prevent. My consolation under that groundless and malevolent treatment was, that I retained the friendship of many wise and good men in that country, and, among the rest, some share in the regard of Lord Howe." [10]

But the day for friendly negociations had passed. Military movements went on. The battle of Long Island was fought. In vain, Lord Howe sent a verbal message to Congress, saying that he desired to confer with some of its members as private [11] gentlemen, though he could not recognize them as members of Congress. Three therefore—Franklin, Adams, and Rutledge [12]—were authorized to have such an interview. The result of it shewed that there was nothing to be expected from these.

To enable Congress to meet the overwhelming military power of its antagonist, it was plain that foreign aid was necessary. Now came into operation the effect of Franklin's visit to Paris. Himself, Deane,[13] and Lee [14] were appointed commissioners to France. He raised all the money he could command, about four thousand pounds, and placed it as a loan to be used by [15] Congress. On the 27th of October, 1776,[16] with inexpressible [17] pleasure, he stepped on board an American ship of war. [87]

NOTES

1. MS: "it" cancelled before "he."
2. MS: "which" cancelled before "was."
3. George Washington (1732–1799).
4. Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826).
5. John Adams (1735–1826).
6. Roger Sherman (1721–1793).
7. Robert R. Livingston (1746–1813).
8. MS: "It was" cancelled before "The."
9. William Howe (1729–1814).
10. Draper's source was undoubtedly Sparks, 1: 413–14, although the entire letter of Franklin to Howe, July 20, 1776, is printed by Sparks, 5: 101.
11. "priv" cancelled before "private."
12. Edward Rutledge (1749–1800).
13. Silas Deane (1737–1789).
14. Arthur Lee (1740–1792).
15. "with" cancelled and amended to "to be used by."
16. MS: "1766."
17. MS: "inexpresible."

IX

The ship made the voyage across the Atlantic safely. In thirty days Franklin landed in France. He made his residence at Passy, at that time a suburb of Paris.

His arrival was not only acceptable to the government, it also made a profound public sensation. Portraits, busts, and [1] medallions of him were circulated in immense numbers. He was compared with the great characters of antiquity, such as [2] Phocion,[3] Socrates, etc.[4] His countenance became familiar to everyone.[5] Under the guise of admiration for this venerable man, the French scarcely concealed their hope of finding in him a means of rectifying the indignities inflicted [6] on them by the Peace of Paris, and, especially, a retaliation for the loss of Canada.

He was soon joined by his colleagues [7] on the commission, Deane and Lee. Their object was to offer to the French government a favorable treaty of commerce, and, in return, to purchase from it eight line of battle ships, to obtain military supplies, and to borrow money.

The French minister of foreign affairs, the Count de Vergennes,[8] received them very courteously. They submitted to him their commission, and plan of the proposed treaty; he assured them that all commercial facilities would be afforded, compatible with the treaties existing between France and England, and requested [9] them to present a memoir [88] on the situation of affairs in the United States. Accordingly, this was done.

But that was not necessary to enable the French government to determine on what it would do. It had already, before the commissioners arrived, provided a million of livres to be expended in munitions of war, and mainly in this manner, there had been procured thirty thousand muskets, two hundred pieces of brass cannon, thirty mortars, four thousand tents, clothing for thirty thousand men, and [10] two hundred tons of gunpowder. These had already arrived in the United States. Congress was to make payment for them in

tobacco and [11] other American produce.

The ships of war asked for were not granted, but private information was given to the commissioners that they would receive two millions of livres in quarterly payments. It was given out that this was a loan of generous friends of the Americans, and not to be repaid until after peace. In reality, however, it was furnished by the government. On an agreement that Congress would furnish five thousand hogsheads of tobacco, another million of livres [12] was advanced. With these funds, two frigates were built; arms, military equipment, and naval stores were [13] sent to America. The utmost care was taken to conceal what was going on from the English minister, Lord Stormont.[14] Whatever remonstrances he made were at once attended to, vessels were detained, and the transportation of goods intercepted.

Attempts were made to obtain aid from Spain and Prussia, but these nations, not having the same incentive that animated France, were lukewarm indeed; the Spanish ambassador in Paris, when consulted [89] by Franklin, advised against any such attempt being made. The commissioners wrote to Lord Stormont, on the occasion of American prisoners captured at sea being treated with severity in England, asking for [15] an exchange of prisoners, according to the usages of nations at war. No answer was at first returned, but on reiterating their request, they [16] were told: "The King's ambassador receives no applications from rebels, unless they come to implore his Majesty's mercy." [17] The paper on which this was written was sent back with the remark: "In answer to a letter, which concerns some of the most material interests of humanity, and of the two nations, Great Britain and the United States, we received the enclosed indecent paper, which we return for your Lordship's more mature consideration." [18] However, the number of prisoners captured by the Americans soon enabled them to enforce their demand.

Not only from all parts of France, but from many parts of Europe, the commissioners, and Franklin especially, were entreated for letters of recommendation to Congress for military appointments. It was impossible to gratify all these. But there was one, respecting whom he and Mr. Deane wrote to Congress as follows: "The Marquis de Lafayette,[19] a young nobleman of great family connexions here, and great wealth, is gone to America in a ship of his own, accompanied by some officers of distinction, in order to serve in our armies. He is exceedingly beloved, and everybody's good wishes attend him. We cannot but hope that he may meet with such a reception as will make the country and his expedition agreeable to him. [90] Those, who censure it as imprudent in him, do nevertheless applaud his spirit; and we are satisfied, that the civilities

and respect, that may be shewn to him, will be serviceable to our affairs here, as pleasing not only to his powerful relations and to the court, but to the whole French nation. He has left a beautiful young wife, and, for her sake particularly, we hope that his bravery and ardent desire to distinguish himself will be a little restrained by the General's prudence, so as not to permit his being hazarded much, except on some important occasions." [20]

Affairs [21] were now approaching such a position, that France must make her choice. She must either give up her American predilections, or accept a war with England. The campaign of 1776 had not been prosperous. Canada evacuated, defeats and losses and retreats of the army, and [22] the flight of Congress from Philadelphia to Baltimore, seemed to presage a coming and [23] final disaster. Then, English recollections, and, what was worse, English gold, were not without their influence. It was actually felt in Franklin's own family. Not too soon was the capture of Burgoyne's [24] army, and the battle of Germantown. The effect of the dawning prosperity was apparent. The secretary of the Council came to congratulate the commissioners on the successes, and to suggest to them to renew their application for a treaty. A meeting took place with the Count de Vergennes. The draft of the treaty that Congress had proposed was introduced. It did not give dissatisfaction to the French minister, but he said that it would be needful for him to consult the [91] Spanish Court, and that a courier would be at once despatched. Before his return, the secretary of the King's Council informed the commissioners that the matter was settled, that the King had determined to acknowledge independence [25] of the United States, and to enter into a treaty of amity and commerce with them; that it was the desire of his Majesty to form a treaty that would be durable, by establishing it on principles of exact reciprocity; that no advantage would be taken of the present situation of the United States, to obtain terms which they would not willingly agree to, under any other circumstances; and that it was his determination to support their independence, by all the means in his power. This would probably lead to war, but the King would not ask, nor expect, any compensation for the expense or [26] damage he might sustain on that account. The only condition required by him, would be that the United States should not give up their independence, in any treaty of peace they should make with England, nor return to their subjection to the British government.

The French then proposed a treaty of alliance, defining the relations of the parties, in case of war [27] between France and England. It declared, that the essential object of the alliance was to secure the independence of the United States. It provided for the just partition

of any territory that might be acquired, and bound both parties, that neither should separately conclude a peace with Great Britain, without the consent of the other first obtained, and that they should not lay down their arms until the independence of the [92] United States should be assured, by a treaty which should terminate the war. The two treaties were signed, transmitted to America, and ratified by Congress. The commissioners were introduced to the King, and took their place at Court, as the representatives of a foreign independent power.

On the French ambassador informing[28] the English ministry that the independence of the United States had been recognized, and treaties of amity and commerce made, Lord Stormont was directed to withdraw from Paris. A squadron under Count D'Estaing[29] was despatched from Toulon to America; it carried M. Gérard[30] as minister to the United States. On the other side, renewed attempts were made by the English government, to come to an understanding that should avoid war. These were chiefly managed by private friends of Franklin's. Among them were Mr. Hutton[31] and Mr. Pulteney.[32] To the latter, Franklin said: "I see, by the propositions you have communicated to me, that the ministers cannot yet divest themselves of the idea, that the power of Parliament over us is constitutionally absolute and unlimited; and that the limitations they may be willing now to put to it by treaty are so many favors, or so many benefits, for which we are to make compensation. As our opinions in America are totally[33] different, a treaty on the terms proposed appears to me utterly impracticable, either here or there. Here we certainly cannot make it, having not the smallest authority to make even the declaration specified in the proposed letter, without which, if I understood you right, treating with us cannot be commenced. [93]

"I sincerely wish as much for peace as you do, and I have enough remaining of good will for England to wish it for her sake as well as for our own, and for the sake of humanity. In the present state of things, the proper means of obtaining it, in my opinion, are, to acknowledge the independence of the United States, and then to enter at once into a treaty with us for a suspension of arms, with the usual provisions relating to distances; and another for establishing peace, friendship, and commerce, such as France has made."[34]

In correspondence to the new position occupied by the United States and France, after the recognition of independence, the commission was dissolved by Congress, and Franklin was[35] appointed minister plenipotentiary to the Court of France. Mr. Adams returned to America; Mr. Lee was appointed commissioner to Spain.

But Franklin was not thus elevated without some painful experiences. His colleague Mr. Lee had become estranged from him. He considered himself entitled to the position which Franklin had reached.[36] He fomented discords, by writing letters to members of Congress, insinuating that affairs had been conducted in a heedless manner; and, by the incompetence, negligence, and faithlessness of his associate commissioners, had fallen into the utmost disorder; that they would pay no regard to his advice; that he could not control them. In view of the charges that would have to take place, he suggested that Franklin should be sent to Vienna, and Deane to Holland. He said: "In that case, I should have it in my [94] [37] power to call those to an account, through whose hands I know the public money has passed, and which will either never be accounted for, or misaccounted for, by connivance between those, who are to share in the public plunder. If this scheme can be executed, it will disconcert all the plans at one stroke, without an appearance of intention, and save both the public and me." [38] Mr. Lee's dislike of Franklin was perhaps engendered by social pride, for he was connected with some of the best Virginia families, and had been brought up in London to the profession of law, but Franklin was the son of a tallow chandler and soap boiler. Nor was it Mr. Lee alone, who was influenced by such considerations; others, much nearer to Franklin, were led astray by them, and in the midst of seeming prosperity and happiness, caused him to spend many a bitter hour.

It was useless to accuse Franklin of "cruising jobs," fraudulent speculations with Paris bankers; no corroborating proofs could be furnished. His unblemished life, a life spent conspicuously in the eyes of the world, might perhaps have been a sufficient answer to such accusations.

Through the accusations of Mr. Lee, and of other persons [39] whom he had influenced, an impression was made on [40] many members of Congress, to Franklin's disadvantage. Mr. Sparks, referring to this delicate subject, says: "At one time those suspicions had gained so much ascendancy, that his recall was proposed in Congress. There were thirty-five members [95] present, eight of whom voted for his recall, and twenty-seven against it. Some of the latter were probably not his friends, but yielded to the motives of a patriotic policy, rather than to the impulse of personal feeling. That he was the best man to fill a public station abroad, no one could doubt; that he should be sacrificed to gratify the spleen of disappointed ambition and offended pride, few could reconcile to their sense of justice, or to their regard to the true interests of their country." [40]

In a letter to his son-in-law, he says: "I trust in the justice of Congress, that they will listen to no accusations against me, that I have

not first been acquainted with, and had an opportunity of answering. I know those gentlemen have plenty of ill will to me, though I have never done to either of them the smallest injury, or given the least just cause of offence. But my too great reputation, and the general good will this people have for me, and the respect they show me, and even the compliments they make me, all grieve those unhappy gentlemen." [41]

As charges of malfeasance had failed, his enemies adopted another line of action. He was accused of subserviency to the French Court, and as unable to resist the adulation of the French people. Even Voltaire had been found among his admirers. The minister cajoled him, and brought him to consent to acts against American interests. Another attempt was made in Congress to procure his recall. The French minister in the United States, in a letter to the Count de Vergennes, December 15, 1780,[42] thus states the position of things: "Congress is filled with intrigues and cabals respecting [96] the recall of Dr. Franklin, which the delegates from Massachusetts insist on by all sorts of means. That minister has very little direct support in Congress; but the fear entertained by both parties, that his place would be supplied by one of the opposite party, has served to sustain him. The States of Massachusetts and South Carolina, and a few individual voices, influenced by Mr. Lee and Mr. Izard,[43] have declared, in a positive manner, that there is no person who is not preferable to the present minister; and they urge, that, by his supineness [44] and the influence of those around him, the American cause has been ruined in France." [45]

To this, Count de Vergennes replied: "If you are questioned respecting our opinion of Dr. Franklin, you may say, without hesitation, that we esteem him as much for his patriotism, as for the wisdom of his conduct; and it has been owing in great part to this cause, and to the confidence which we put in the veracity of Dr. Franklin, that we have determined to relieve the pecuniary embarrassments, in which he has been placed by Congress. One may judge from this fact, which is of a personal nature, whether his conduct has been injurious to the interests of his country, and whether any other minister would have had the same advantages. But, although we esteem Dr. Franklin, and hold him in high consideration, yet we are not the less obliged to confess, that, on account of his great age and love of tranquillity, he is less active than is compatible with the affairs with which he is charged, and that we see this with the more concern, since it is upon [97] matters of importance that he preserves silence, whilst the good of the service requires, that he should transmit his sentiments to Congress. We are of opinion, however, that his

recall would be very inconvenient in the present state of things, and it would be the more disagreeable to us, inasmuch as he would perhaps be succeeded by a character unquiet, exacting, difficult, and less ardently attached to the cause of his country. Congress might relieve themselves from the embarrassment of a new choice, by giving Dr. Franklin a secretary of legation, wise, discreet, well informed, and capable of supplying his place." [46]

It was not merely the natural impairment of strength, arising from his advanced years, that Franklin suffered; he was, in addition, afflicted by two maladies, the gout and stone, which sometimes confined him to his house for weeks. But, Congress did not afford him aid in the manner suggested by the Count de Vergennes. The burden of duty, instead of diminishing, increased; all kinds of maritime matters had to be attended to; he had to perform the office of many consuls in the ports, as well as that of a minister. It is not surprizing, that under such incessant calls, his resolution gave way, and he wrote to the president of Congress asking permission to retire from the public service, and that a successor might be appointed in his stead. His resignation was not accepted.

The British cabinet was unceasing in its exertions to separate the United States and France. Inducements were indirectly held out of a separate treaty of peace, if their alliance were first disposed of. This Franklin steadfastly resisted: "It is [98] an obligation not in the power of America to dissolve, being an obligation of *gratitude and justice* towards a nation, which is engaged in a war on her account and for her protection; and it would be forever binding, whether such an article existed or not in the treaty; and, though it did not exist, an honest American would cut off his right hand, rather than sign an agreement with England contrary to the spirit of it." [47] No better success attended the inducements offered to France. Her uniform reply was, that no propositions would be listened [48] to, either for a peace or a truce, that had not for their basis, the independence of the United States.

But military affairs in America were fast bringing these movements to a close. Cornwallis' [49] army had been surrendered [50] at Yorktown; it could not be replaced; the wealth of England could not bear the enormous cost of the war. Her people were discouraged. Their feeling found vent in a motion in Parliament, that an address should be presented to his Majesty, praying that the war might cease. When the vote was taken, it was shewn how great a change had taken place in public opinion. There was a majority in favor of the [51] ministers, and for continuing the war, but it was only a majority of one.

Lord North,[52] of course, resigned. The Marquis of Rockingham came in his place as prime minister. Mr. Fox [53] declared that the change of ministry had taken place, on the fundamental principle of granting "unequivocal and unconditional independence to America." [54]

Communications with the Count de Vergennes and [99] Dr. Franklin were opened. There were some diplomatic difficulties. Mr. Oswald [55] and Mr. Grenville came to Paris to conduct the negociations. Mr. Grenville was authorized to treat with France, or any other prince or state. Dr. Franklin insisted, that there should be a clear commission for treaty with the United States. In the midst of these discreditable diplomatic attempts, the Marquis of Rockingham died, and was succeeded by the Earl of Shelburne as prime minister.

Now the attempt was made not to grant the recognition of independence as absolute and unconditional, but to yield it for an equivalent. To bring things to a clear issue, Franklin prepared a paper presenting two [56] classes of facts—those that he considered *necessary*, and those that were *adviseable*. The *necessary* articles were: independence, full and complete, to the thirteen states, and all troops to be withdrawn from them; a settlement of the boundaries of their colonies, and the loyal colonies; the definition of the southern boundaries of Canada, and some arrangements respecting fishing. Franklin earnestly wished that Canada should be given up to the United States, but this condition was not pressed.

There still was a struggle to avoid the preparatory recognition of the United States. Mr. Oswald, the English commissioner, was authorized to conclude a treaty with "commissioners named, or to be named, by the colonies or plantations in America." [57] Franklin, at this time, was confined by illness, and the negociations were carried on by Mr. Jay,[58] who insisted that there should be a preliminary [59] acknowledgement of independence, either by act of [100] Parliament, or by proclamation by the King. To both these methods, there were practical inconveniences. Mr. Oswald referred the matter to London, and was empowered "to treat with commissioners or persons, vested with equal powers by and on the part of the Thirteen United States of America." [60]

Independence; the boundaries; the fisheries, were the three essential points. The first was settled, as has been said; the second, after some delay and discussion, was defined; the right respecting the fisheries was admitted.

Now, when the negociations seemed to be complete, an unexpected difficulty arose. The English government desired to obtain compensation for the loyalists, whose property had been confiscated. This, in the American view, could not be admitted, or, if insisted on,

must be neutralized by an article in the treaty, to indemnify Americans for all damages and losses they had suffered through the loyalists. When it was proposed to send the treaty back to London, Franklin desired [61] that a new article should be sent with it, to the effect that "his Britannic Majesty should recommend to Parliament to make compensation to the Americans for all the goods taken from them by the British army during the war, for the tobacco, rice, indigo, and negroes that had been plundered, for the vessels and cargoes seized before the declaration of war, and for all the towns, villages, and farms, that had been burned and destroyed by his troops." [62] The subject was dropped.

The treaty was at length completed, substantially on the basis of the American demands. It was signed in Paris, November 30th,[63] 1782, and duly ratified by Congress. [101]

In the treaty of alliance between France and America, it had been agreed that "neither of the two parties should conclude either truce or peace with Great Britain, without the formal consent of the other first obtained." [64] Congress had also instructed its envoys "to make the most candid and confidential communications upon all subjects to the ministers of our generous ally, the King of France, and to undertake nothing in the negociations for peace or truce without their knowledge and concurrence." [65] Now it appeared that the treaty had not only been negociated, but signed, without the knowledge of France.

This, of course, produced an estrangement between the commissioners and the Count de Vergennes, who had throughout conducted himself not only with the most scrupulous honor, but also, with the highest liberality. He expressed his extreme surprize, but even that with [66] the utmost delicacy: "The King, if he had shewn as little delicacy in his proceedings as the American commissioners, might have signed articles with England long before them. I think it proper that the more influential members of Congress should be informed of the very irregular conduct of their commissioners in regard to us. You may speak of it not in the tone of complaint. I accuse no person; I blame no one, not even Dr. Franklin. He has yielded too easily to the bias of his colleagues, who do not pretend to recognize the rules of courtesy in regard to us. If we may judge of the future from what has passed here under our eyes, we shall be but poorly paid for all that we have done for the United States, and for securing to them [102] a national existence." [67] It has been suggested that the American commissioners were incited to take [68] this course by suspicions of the ulterior designs of the French, but no adequate evidence of this was given. The definitive treaty was signed at Paris, September 3rd, 1785.[69]

On this Franklin remarks: "Thus the great and hazardous enterprize we have been engaged in, is, God be praised, happily completed; an event I hardly expected I should live to see. A few years of peace, well improved, will restore and increase our strength; but our future safety will depend on our union and our virtue. Britain will be long watching for advantages, to recover what she has lost. If we do not convince the world, that we are a nation to be depended on for fidelity in treaties; if we appear negligent in paying our debts, and ungrateful to those who have served and befriended us; our reputation and all the strength it is capable [70] of procuring, will be lost, and fresh attacks upon us will be encouraged and promoted [71] by better prospects of success. Let us, therefore, beware of being lulled into a dangerous security, and of being both enervated and impoverished by luxury; of being weakened by internal contentions and divisions; of being shamefully extravagant in contracting private debts, while we are backward in discharging honorably those of the public; of neglect in military exercises and discipline, and in providing stores of arms and munitions of war, to be ready on occasion; for all these are circumstances that give confidence to enemies, and diffidence to friends; and the expenses required to prevent a war are much lighter than those that [72] [103] will, if not prevented, be absolutely necessary to maintain it." [73]

A new commission was appointed, consisting of Franklin, Jefferson, and Adams, for negociating treaties of amity and commerce with other powers. Franklin's task was now nearly over; he earnestly solicited from Congress his recall. Reluctantly, it was granted, and Jefferson was appointed to succeed him. His last official act in Europe was the signing of a treaty between Prussia and the United States. He was now in the seventy-ninth year of his age. [104]

NOTES

1. not in MS: "and."
2. not in MS: "such as."
3. Phocion (ca. 402–317 B.C.)
4. MS: "&c."
5. MS: "every one."
6. MS: "and" cancelled before "inflicted."
7. MS: "colleges" cancelled and amended to "colleagues."
8. Charles Gravier, comte de Vergennes (1717–1787).
9. "presen" cancelled before "requested."
10. not in MS: "and."
11. MS: "&."
12. MS: "livrons" cancelled before "livres."
13. not in MS: "were."
14. David Murray, Viscount Stormont and earl of Mansfield (1727–1796).
15. MS: "that" cancelled and amended to "asking for."

16. not in MS: "they."
17. Sparks, 1: 426.
18. Ibid., p. 427.
19. Marie Joseph Paul, marquis de Lafayette (1757–1834).
20. Draper's source was Sparks, 1: 428.
21. MS: "The" cancelled before "Affairs."
22. not in MS: "and."
23. MS: "of" cancelled before "and."
24. John Burgoyne (1722–1792).
25. MS: "acknowledge in independence."
26. MS: "and" cancelled before "or."
27. MS: "a" cancelled before "war."
28. MS: "to Great Britain" cancelled before "informing."
29. Charles Hector, comte d'Estaing (1729–1794).
30. Conrad Alexandre Gérard (1729–1790).
31. James Hutton (1715–1795).
32. William Pulteney.
33. MS: "totally" cancelled before "totally."
34. Draper's source was Sparks, 1: 440–41, although the entire letter of Franklin to Pulteney, March 30, 1778, is printed by Sparks, 8: 254–55.
35. not in MS: "was."
36. MS: "gained" cancelled before "reached."
37. MS: note at top of MS p. 94: "see vol 8 p 57 257 444," referring to Sparks' edition concerning the Lee controversy.
38. Draper probably took his quotation from Sparks, 1: 450, although another quotation from Lee's letter to Richard Henry Lee, October 4, 1777, is in Sparks, 8: 445.
39. MS: "influential" cancelled before "persons."
40. Sparks, 1: 452–53.
41. Ibid., pp. 453–54; part of Franklin's letter to Richard Bache, June 2, 1779, is also in Sparks, 8: 371–73
42. MS: "(Dec 15. 1780)."
43. Ralph Izard (1742–1804).
44. MS: "supiness."
45. Luzerne to Vergennes, December 15, 1780; quoted by Sparks, 1: 465–66.
46. Quoted by Sparks, 1: 466–67. After this passage in the MS is a pencil note, "Permission to Capt Cook," referring to Franklin's circular letter to American vessels requesting them not to hinder Cook on his current voyage of exploration. The incident is mentioned by Sparks, 1: 455–56, and Draper probably intended to include it in the finished work.
47. Draper's source is probably Sparks, 1: 471–72, although Franklin's letter to David Hartley, May 4, 1779, is printed in Sparks, 8: 345–47.
48. MS: "attended" cancelled and amended to "listened."
49. Charles, Marquis Cornwallis (1738–1805).
50. MS: "captured" cancelled before "surrendered."
51. not in MS: "the."
52. Frederick, Lord North (1732–1792).
53. Charles James Fox (1749–1806).
54. Sparks, 1: 475.
55. Richard Oswald (1705–1784).
56. MS: "the" cancelled before "two."
57. Sparks, 1: 481–82.
58. John Jay (1745–1829).
59. MS: "ack" cancelled before "preliminary."

60. Sparks, 1: 483, which reads "any commissioners."
61. MS: "proposed" cancelled before "desired."
62. Sparks, 1: 486–87; Draper omits several words.
63. MS: "Nov."
64. Sparks, 1: 489.
65. Ibid.
66. MS: "he" deleted before "with."
67. Sparks, 1: 491–92. Draper quotes selectively from Sparks' transcription of Vergennes' message.
68. MS: "took" cancelled and amended to "were incited to take."
69. MS: following this passage are the pencilled notes: "mesmerism 303 dropsy 506," referring to Sparks' continuation of Franklin's autobiography for the purposes of further revision. Actually the passage on interest in mesmerism is in Sparks, 1: 503.
70. MS: "able" cancelled before "capable."
71. MS: "procured" cancelled before "promoted."
72. MS: "that" repeated.
73. Sparks, 1: 502–3.

X

During the eight and a half years he had resided in France, Franklin had been surrounded by a circle of friends, eminent in science, philosophy, literature, and [1] public life. They hastened to express their emotions to him at his departure. Among them, there were some touching adieux. The Count de Vergennes, with whom he had had so many and so great transactions, offered his sincere respects: "I have learned with much concern, of your retiring, and of your approaching departure for America. You cannot doubt but that the regrets, which you will leave, will be proportionate to the consideration you so justly enjoy. I can assure you, Sir, that the esteem the King entertains for you does not leave you any thing to wish, and that his Majesty will learn with satisfaction, that your fellow citizens have rewarded, in a manner worthy of you, the important services you have rendered them. I beg, Sir, that you will preserve for me a share in your remembrance, and never doubt the sincerity of the interest I take in your happiness." [2]

Too ill to bear fatigue,[3] he left Passy in the Queen's litter, borne by mules, and made the journey to Havre de Grace in six days. Then, he crossed over to Southampton in a packet boat, and took ship for America, reaching Philadelphia after a voyage of forty-eight days. A great concourse of people met him, and with the ringing [105] of bells, and firing of cannon, attended him to his door. The Assembly of Pennsylvania presented an address of congratulation. General Washington welcomed him; the various public bodies of Philadelphia, as the American Philosophical Society, and [4] the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania, added their homage to the venerable man.

When the Assembly of Pennsylvania met again in October, it [5] chose him President of the State. A house he had begun some time previously, he now [6] finished. It contained provision for a library, to receive his numerous valuable papers and books. He was elected one of the delegates from Pennsylvania, to the convention for forming

the Constitution of the United States. It met in Philadelphia in May, 1787, and continued in session four months. At [7] one of its meetings, when, so far, little had been done he [8] offered a motion that "prayers, imploring the assistance of Heaven and its blessing on our deliberations, be held in this assembly every morning before we proceed to business; and that one or more of the clergy of this city be requested to officiate in that service." [9] But, it is added, "the motion was not adopted, as 'the convention, except three or four members, thought prayers unnecessary.' " [10]

At the closing of this convention, he made a speech, in which he said: "I consent to this constitution, because I expect no better, and because I am not sure that it is not the best. The opinions I have had of its errors I sacrifice to the public good. I have never whispered a syllable of them abroad. Within these walls they were born, and here they shall die. If every one of us, in returning [106] to our constituents, were to report the objections he had to it, and endeavor to gain partisans in support of them, we might prevent its being generally received, and thereby lose all the salutary effects and great advantages resulting naturally in our favor among foreign nations, as well as among ourselves, from our real or apparent unanimity. Much of the strength and efficiency of any government, in procuring and securing happiness to the people, depends on opinion, on the general opinion of the goodness of that government, as well as of the wisdom and integrity of its governors. I hope, therefore, for our own sakes, as a part of the people, and for the sake of our prosperity, that we shall act heartily and unanimously in recommending this constitution, wherever our influence may extend, and turn our future thoughts and endeavors to the means of having it well administered. On the whole, Sir, I cannot help expressing a wish, that every member of the convention who may still have objections to it, would with me on this occasion doubt a little of his own infallibility, and, to make manifest our unanimity, put his name to this instrument." [11]

Up to this time, though he had again and again entreated Congress, his accounts had not been settled. A commissioner, Mr. Barclay,[12] had been appointed by Congress, to examine and settle the accounts of the agents of the United States in Europe. This was before Franklin left France. His results differed from Dr. Franklin's statement, by about six cents overcharged, and he desired to close them as they then stood. But Franklin believed that there were charges to which he was entitled, and so the accounts were transmitted to Congress. [107] He sent his grandson to New York, where Congress was then sitting, entreating to have a settlement. The pressure of other affairs seems to have prevented it. He waited a reason-

able time, and then renewed his request, by a letter to the President: "It is now more than three years, that these accounts have been before that honorable body, and, to this day, no notice of any such objection has been communicated to me. But reports have, for some time past, been circulated here, and propagated in the newspapers, that I am greatly indebted to the United States for large sums, that had been put into my hands, and that I avoid a settlement. This, together with the little time one of my age may expect to live, makes it necessary for me to request earnestly, which I hereby do, that the Congress would be pleased, without further delay, to examine those accounts, and if they find therein any article or articles, which they do not understand or approve, that they would cause me to be acquainted with the same, that I may have an opportunity of offering such explanations or reasons in support of them as may be in my power, and then that the accounts be finally closed. I hope the Congress will soon be able to attend to this business for the satisfaction of the public, as well as in condescension to my request." [13] But, after all this, Congress never found opportunity to audit and settle the accounts, and [14] never adjusted what Franklin believed to be his equitable claim, for extraordinary services.

To age and extreme feebleness was added the increasing and [15] excruciating agony of the malady under which he had for some years suffered—the stone. This, for the last year, had confined [16] him often to his bed. In a letter to General Washington he said: "My malady ren-[108]ders my sitting up to write rather painful to me; but I cannot let my son-in-law, Mr. Bache,[17] part from New York, without congratulating you by him on the recovery of your health, so precious to us all, and on the growing strength of our new government under your administration. For my own personal ease, I should have died two years ago; but, though those years have been spent in excruciating pain, I am pleased that I have lived them, since they have brought me to see our present situation. I am now finishing my eighty-fourth year, and probably with it my career in this life; but, in whatever state of existence I am placed in hereafter, if I retain any memory of what has passed here, I shall with it retain the esteem, respect, and affection, with which I have long been, yours most sincerely." [18]

Worn out by pain, he fell at length into an unconscious state, and on the 17th of April, 1790, he breathed his last.

More than twenty thousand people attended his funeral. All the authorities and representatives [19] of all the public institutions were present. The flags of ships in the harbor were at half mast. Congress, then sitting in New York, went into mourning for one month, "as a mark," so the resolution said, "of veneration due to the memory of a

citizen, whose native genius was not more an ornament to human nature, than his various exertions of it have been precious to science, to freedom, and to his country." [20] The members of the National Assembly of France went into mourning for three days. In all foreign countries, sympathy was felt for America in her great loss.

NOTES

1. not in MS: "and."
2. Sparks, 1: 508. Draper omits a few words.
3. MS: "much" cancelled before "fatigue."
4. not in MS: "and."
5. not in MS: "it."
6. MS: after this line, Draper has pencilled "see p 521 for a description," referring to Sparks, 1: 521, a description of Franklin's library.
7. MS: "It" cancelled before "At."
8. MS: "done that he."
9. Sparks, 1: 515.
10. Ibid. At the end of this passage Draper has added in pencil: "his religious sentiments 515," again referring to Sparks for further revision.
11. Ibid., pp. 518–19, practically verbatim. Draper inaccurately transcribes "sake of our posterity" as "sake of our prosperity."
12. Thomas Barclay.
13. Sparks, 1: 525, practically verbatim.
14. not in MS: "and."
15. MS: "the" cancelled and amended to "was added the increasing and."
16. MS: "so" cancelled before "confined."
17. Richard Bache (1737–1811).
18. Draper's source is Sparks, 1: 528. He omits a few words and mistranscribes "part for New York" as "part from New York." Franklin's letter to Washington, September 16, 1789, is also printed in Sparks, 10: 395–96.
19. MS: "all" cancelled before "representatives."
20. Sparks, 1: 533.

☆ U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1977 O—221–419


LIBRARY OF CONGRESS